Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/s8expositor18londuoft

THE EXPOSITOR

VOL. XVIII.

List of Contributors to Volume XVIII

Rev. W. F. Adeney, D.D.
Rev. W. Bartlett, M.A.
Rev. T. Herbert Bindley, D.D.
Rev. Canon G. H. Box, D.D.
Professor Vacher Burch.
Rev. Canon A. C. Deane, M.A.
Rev. W. Ewing, D.D., M.C.
Rev. Professor G. G. Findlay, D.D
Professor E. J. Goodspeed, Ph.D.
Professor Rendel Harris, Litt.D., LL.D.
Rev. J. H. Hingston, B.D.
Rev. F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock, D.D.
Rev. Maurice Jones, D.D.
Rev. Professor W. M. Macgregor, D.D.
Rev. Professor Robert Mackintosh, D.D.
Rev. Professor D. S. Margoliouth, Litt.D.
Rev. G. Margoliouth, M.A.
Rev. R. L. Marshall, M.A., LL.D.
Rev. Professor James Moffatt, D.D., Litt.D.
Rev. Professor A. T. Robertson, D.D.
Rev. J. A. Robertson, M.A.
Rev. Professor C. Anderson Scott, D.D.
Rev. F. R. Tennant, D.D.
Rev. T. H. Weir, M.A.
Rev. Professor Adam C. Welch, D.D.
Rev. Canon G. H. Whitaker, M.A.
Rev. E. W. Winstanley, D.D.
Herbert G. Wood, M.A.

THE EXPOSITOR

EDITED BY THE REV.

SIR W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., LL.D.

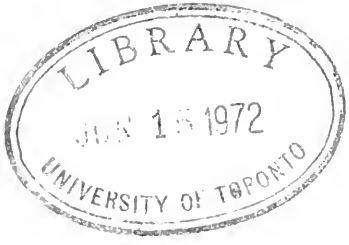
EIGHTH SERIES

Volume XVIII

HODDER AND STOUGHTON
WARWICK SQUARE, LONDON, E.C.

MCMXIX

BS
410
E7
102.8
v. 18



Printed in Great Britain
by Butler & Tanner,
Frome and London

THE PERMANENT VALUE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF CRITICISM.[1]

I.

THE value and importance of the Old Testament are in some danger, it seems to me, of being minimised or ignored in certain circles. In these quarters a feeling of impatience with the critical study of the Old Testament, and indeed with Old Testament study generally, has begun to manifest itself. This feeling was rather crudely voiced to the writer not long ago by a clerical friend who gravely maintained that the time now spent by the ordinary student on the Old Testament might be devoted much more profitably to Church History. Another friend complained that Criticism had made everything so uncertain that the ordinary student could never be sure when he was on firm ground or when the foundations were to be trusted. Probably this latter view really represents the feeling of many people who do not aspire to be accomplished students of the Hebrew literature, but are really interested in Bible-study, and have only been bewildered by the discussions of warring critical schools. Such are entitled to ask for some relief and guidance. But it must be remembered that the needs of this large class have by no means been entirely neglected or overlooked. A little patience would enable any intelligent man or woman to read and assimilate some of the

[1] The substance of an Inaugural Lecture delivered November 14, 1918, at King's College, London, by the newly appointed Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis in that college.

best popular expositions of the constructive side of Criticism, such as Robertson Smith's *Prophets of Israel.* Or if this be too ambitious an undertaking to begin with, there is Dr. Nairne's delightful little volume, *The Faith of the Old Testament,* which is popular in the best sense of the word and is alive to the many-sided beauty of the Old Testament as a noble collection of literature, made in the interests of a living and continuous faith. In this little book the broad positions of Criticism are pre-supposed, but no undue space is devoted to the discussion of purely critical problems as such. The author is concerned rather with the larger aspects of the Old Testament literature as a whole, and as the expression of a living religion, which are apt to be lost sight of when it is regarded as "merely a text to be analysed." The aim of the book is essentially constructive. It is to show how the Old Testament, with the broad results of criticism pre-supposed, may be regarded as a "progressive witness to the life of faith."

"Its [i.e. the Old Testament's] importance," says Dr. Nairne, "is not artistic or even historical so much as moral. It means that the whole of the Old Testament comes to us from the Jewish Church. It is more than a collection of fragments from those earlier times when ancient Israel was in strife with its own paganism, painfully and vigorously forging a purer faith in the furnace which the divine spirit made white-hot. It is not a book of fragments but an inspired collection. It is not a mere tradition, but an interpretation." [1]

The service which Criticism can and does render is to make the process of growth clear. But if it forgets that all the while a continuous living faith was at work, moulding and selecting the materials for its own purposes—if this primary fact be forgotten or ignored, Criticism will itself lose its bearings and inevitably go astray. This has sometimes happened. Take, for instance, the Book of Isaiah. Critical analysis reveals not merely the presence of two

[1] *The Faith of the Old Testament,* p. 6.

large collections of prophetic oracles, one of which, contained in the last part of the Book, Isaiah xl.–lxvi., is wholly post-exilic, but also makes clear the fact that within these broad divisions there are elements of different date and origin. Within the first half (chapters i.–xxxix.) lie embedded the actual oracles of Isaiah the prophet, so far as these have been preserved. But these oracles themselves have been transmitted in smaller collections, which have been edited with additional matter by later generations. We know that the prophet, anticipating in this respect the method of our Lord, committed his testimony to a band of disciples,[1] to treasure and hand down to future generations. Isaiah was above everything else the prophet of faith. To him all that was precious in Israel was embodied in a small "remnant" of true believers. He deliberately staked all his hopes for the future on the survival of this disciplined and purified "remnant." And his faith was brilliantly justified in the event. We may regard his "testimony" as a kind of Gospel, treasured by and inspiring a small band of disciples who handed down in written form the original deposit. But the deposit was continually added to. It grew and attracted to itself congenial elements, and was continually being adapted to the needs of a living faith confronted by ever-changing conditions and new problems. All this is made clear by Criticism. And when the results of a reverent but fearless Criticism are presented positively and constructively, we gain not only a picture of fascinating interest, but a real enrichment of vital religion and a glorious vindication of a splendid faith. We see faith overcoming obstacles, removing mountains, asserting its inherent moral and attractive power against all opposing forces, however formidable, as the great dynamic which, in the long run, is ever victorious and invincible.

[1] Cf. Isa. viii. 16, xxx. 8.

At first sight it might appear that the critical process is one of pure disintegration. When the mere details of Criticism are allowed to obscure the larger aspects, when attention is focussed on discussions as to whether a given passage is "genuine" or not, to the exclusion of all other considerations, we are entitled to protest. Against this danger one of the most eminent of living critical Old Testament scholars, Dr. G. Buchanan Gray, has protested in words which I will venture to quote. Speaking of the Book of Isaiah, he says:

"No full justice can be done to a book which is a great monument of Jewish religion after the Exile if all our attention is devoted to determining whether this or that passage is 'genuine' and dismissing it as not 'genuine' if it is not the work of Isaiah. In reference to works such as the Book of Isaiah, the term 'genuine' is indeed misleading. None of these nameless writers may have possessed the religious genius of Isaiah, but together they represent the play of the earlier prophetic teaching on the Jewish Church. In religion, as elsewhere, great personalities count first, and it is the privilege of a student of the Book of Isaiah to come face to face with one, if not two, such personalities; but the religious community is the necessary outcome, or field of action, of the great religious personality and his teaching, and the student of the Book of Isaiah has but half entered into his inheritance, if he communes with Isaiah and the great exilic prophet, but fails to feel the life of that post-exilic community which not only preserved for themselves and for us the words of the earlier prophets, but preserved them in books which were also made to breathe the hopes and aspirations that sustained the Jews through centuries of isolation, oppression, and temptation." [1]

II.

If Criticism be defined, as I think it may be defined, as the science of drawing distinctions founded upon ascertained facts, or probable hypotheses founded upon ascertained facts, then the unreasonableness of that most unreasonable person, commonly called "the plain man" or "the man in the street," is obvious. For "the plain

[1] Commentary on *The Book of Isaiah* (I.C.C.), vol. I. p. xii.

man" may be defined as a person who either cannot or will not draw distinctions. He demands a plain "yes" or "no" to his categorical questions, forgetting that all living things, when examined, are found to be highly complex. Before he can be reasoned with "the plain man" must be asked to submit to a great act of self-renunciation. He must rid himself, once and for all, of his fundamental and devastating prejudice. If he will only and sincerely do this he is entitled to every consideration, and he may legitimately demand a simple statement of the broad and assured results of Criticism, and ask how far these affect the general view and study of Holy Scripture.

It would be impossible within the limits of our space to demonstrate what has been termed "the inevitableness and legitimacy of Criticism" as applied to the Old Testament literature. This has been sufficiently done already in various discussions, e.g. in a paper by the present Dean of Ely, Dr. Kirkpatrick, which is published in a cheap and handy form in a small book containing other essays, and entitled *The Higher Criticism*.[1] It will suffice to say that Criticism is as legitimate and as inevitable a development of the modern spirit as modern science, of which, indeed, it is a part. It is, by no means, the thing of yesterday, as its opponents sometimes try to represent it to be, "with results so hastily and arbitrarily reached that they are certain to be reversed by the discoveries and debates of to-morrow"; on the contrary, in its modern phase, which may be dated from about 1680, it is well over two centuries old. Within the last hundred years and more it has been served by a succession of devoted and able scholars—I am speaking of the first principal achievement of Biblical Criticism, the literary analysis of the Hexateuch—by no means confined to one country. Before the middle of the

[1] New edition (Hodder and Stoughton), 1912, pp. 17–33.

nineteenth century the analysis of the Hexateuch into four main documents, known generally as J E D P, was laid down, and all "the effect of subsequent criticism has been to confirm and develop" the correctness of this conclusion. "The evidence," says Dr. G. A. Smith,[1] ". . . has been revised and the conclusion corroborated by a large number of independent scholars in several countries and schools of Christendom. Kuenen and others in Holland; Graf, Wellhausen, Nöldeke, Dillmann, Kautzsch, Stade, Budde, Holzinger and others in Germany; Westphal and others in France; Robertson Smith, Cheyne, Driver, Addis, Bennett, Ball, Ryle, Estlin Carpenter and Harford Battersby in Great Britain; Briggs and Bacon in America, have all made detailed analyses of the whole or of parts of the Hexateuch; and their conclusions have been adopted, or independently verified, by others who have not published detailed analyses, but have studied and written on the subjects contained in the Hexateuch: as, for instance, a large band of contributors to Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* and to the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*." Criticism of the Hexateuch has run its course, as was inevitable and desirable amid storms of controversy and opposed criticism. But in the result, though certain modifications in details have to be allowed for, and even some new factors of considerable importance, especially affecting the history of religious ideas, have asserted themselves, the broad positions reached by the Wellhausen School have remained unshaken. Professor Adam C. Welch, himself no blind adherent of the Wellhausen School, has remarked that "the majority of those who at present question the [Wellhausen] theory quietly accept its well-assured results. There is, e.g. (he adds), no serious effort to go back to the position that Deuteronomy in its present form is Mosaic in the sense of

[1] *Modern Preaching and the Teaching of the Old Testament*, p. 39 f.

dating from the age of the Exodus. Now that, as was recognised long ago in the Robertson Smith controversy, is the crux of the position; for to put Deuteronomy late is to recognise that the Law, in the form in which we have the Law, comes after instead of before the writing prophets. That broad change in the whole method of approach to the study of the Old Testament is not seriously questioned in the many criticisms which are being urged to-day." [1]

If any result is certain, this most certainly is. And its consequences on our view of the Old Testament literature are of the most far-reaching character. But the tendency of recent Criticism has been decidedly in the direction of modifying some of the more extreme positions of the Wellhausen School. Thus it has been made clear that much more importance must be attached to the traditions regarding the nation's origin that are embodied in the JE narratives of the Hexateuch. The unique importance of Moses, and the high ethical character of the Jahveh-religion which through him was impressed upon the Hebrew tribes is emphasised. The Israelites who entered Palestine are no longer to be regarded as mere rude nomads, destitute of all the elements of a higher civilisation which they had to learn from the more civilised peoples of Canaan whom they conquered. Even in the so-called "Priest's Code" (P), which in its present literary form is undoubtedly post-exilic, the presence of older elements, it is increasingly recognised, must be allowed for.[2]

I have already referred, in the case of the Book of Isaiah, to the fruitful work of Criticism upon the prophetic books. In the light of Criticism they are seen to contain not merely

[1] *The Present Outlook of Old Testament Criticism* (EXPOSITOR, Dec. 1913, p. 518 f.).

[2] Nor has this ever been denied by the expositors of the critical view; see Dr. Burney's article published in the EXPOSITOR (Feb., 1912, pp. 97–108), *The Priestly Code and the New Aramaic Papyri from Elephantiné.*

the oracles of the prophet whose name they bear, but additional matter, much of it of later date. The result of all this is a real enrichment. We see the prophetic teaching constantly being developed and adapted to ever-growing needs. No scholar has done more for the critical analysis of the prophetic books than Wellhausen, whose masterly volume on the Minor Prophets marks a turning-point in the study of this literature. But here, again, further criticism has tended to modify some of the extreme positions. This applies particularly to the eschatological element in the prophetic writings. Such elements were regarded by Wellhausen and his School as being very late additions to the books. But since the publication of Gressmann's important book on *The Origin of the Israelitish-Jewish Eschatology* (1905) it has been increasingly recognised that many of these passages are very old. This view has been urged with much force by Gunkel, Gressmann and Sellin, and is largely accepted by Professor Welch. Some important consequences follow from its acceptance. Many of the passages in the prophetic books which depict a brighter future will, in the light of this view, wear a different aspect. They may be as old as, if not older than, the original writings in which they occur. Sellin even regards Amos ix. 8b ff.—the passage which speaks of raising up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, and predicts a return from the exile—as original. This is a difficult view to accept. Welch is more cautious. He says: "While there are elements in this which appear old, and may even date from Amos, the passage has received so much alteration that it is practically useless for determining the older view."[1] On the other hand Hosea xiv. 1–8 is thoroughly Hoseanic in style and tone, and the assumption in *v.* 3 that help may be expected from Assyria can only have been possible

[1] *The Religion of Israel under the Kingdom*, p. 261 f.

before the date of the Syro-Ephaimitish league, i.e. before 734 B.C.; "after that Assyria was the enemy." The passage must, therefore, be as early as Hosea, and probably emanates from him.

Another consequence of this view on which Professor Welch insists is that, if it be accepted, "we are done with the idea of the prophets as a species of superior politicians."

"They were," he says, "what they claimed to be, religious men. They were not dealing with Israel in face of the accidental factor of Assyrian invasion; they were dealing with Israel in face of an eternal factor, its God. They were working not on a little question of policy, but on the profoundest question of all, the question of the relation of God to His world. Has God an order for the world? And does He give any man, in the uncertainty of everything else, a knowledge of it? Their eschatology was the means of expressing the thought that there is a world-order, which cannot remain in the background, but which, at whatever time God wills, may break in on the world." [1]

This is finely said, and expresses a profound truth. The dominant interest of the prophets was essentially religious. Yet it must be remembered that politics and religion were inextricably interwoven in the ancient world, and that the antithesis between them only became possible when the conception of the religious value of the individual emerged.

III.

What is the central part of the Old Testament, its most significant element in the development of the purely religious ideas? Undoubtedly the writings which embody the work of the great prophets. The prophetic books and the prophetic teaching are the heart of Old Testament religion. It is in the prophetic literature that the great doctrines of God, His holiness and ethical requirement, His uniqueness and claim upon human loyalty and obedience, are set forth with unrivalled power, with a passionate conviction

[1] Welch in *The Expository Times*, xxiv. 209 (Feb. 1913).

and appeal, that alike testify to the prophet's authority and inspiration. I venture to say that an intelligent grasp of the prophetic teaching will bring home to people who are prepared in any way to accept the claims of religion an overpowering sense of the uniqueness of Israel's great succession of teachers, and of their authority to speak as men who have received a real revelation from God. They are the authentic exponents of God's will. Their inspiration is obvious, and need not be argued to one who has steeped himself in the prophetic spirit. All this has been shown with convincing force most recently by Dr. H. F. Hamilton in his great book *The People of God* (2 vols., 1912).

It is true, of course, that the Old Testament contains a large priestly as well as a prophetic element, and the religious development will not be understood unless the interaction of these two elements is taken into account. But the prophetic element is primary. It created the impetus which carried the religion forward. It is the source from which sprang the soaring ideals, the passion for righteousness, the intense realisation of the power and personal claim of the living God. The significance of the priestly element lies in its gradual assimilation of the prophetic spirit and ideals, and in its making these practically realisable in everyday life. Such a book as Deuteronomy is a noble monument of the fusion of the two elements; it re-states, modifies, and invests with new sanctions the old ritual law, and largely moralises it.

Nor must it be forgotten that our Lord's attitude towards the old religion of Israel was that of the prophet rather than the priest. It is true that He came not to destroy the Law but to fulfil it. But the fulfilment of which He spoke was essentially prophetic in character. He breathed into it fresh life, deepened and extended its moral significance and claim. And above all He took up a position towards

it of sovereign freedom. It is in the prophetic Scriptures that He finds the most adequate expression of His own Messianic consciousness, especially in the wonderful delineation of God's suffering servant in Isaiah liii. It is not without significance that the people instinctively recognised in the new teacher the voice of a prophet. And in fact the whole character of the Christian movement in its early stages, as depicted in the New Testament, is prophetic. The Day of Pentecost marked the outpouring of the prophetic spirit and gifts. "The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy."

Is it not a remarkable fact that the one authoritative affirmation the Church has made on the subject of inspiration is contained in the clause of the Nicene Creed which asserts that the Holy Ghost "spake by the prophets"? The "prophets" here undoubtedly include the great prophets of the Old Testament, and the implication surely is that the Christian view of the Old Testament Scriptures is dominantly prophetic. This does not mean that the Law, which is divine, has no place in the Christian scheme, but that it must be interpreted, or rather re-interpreted, in the spirit of prophetic religion. The Law must be subordinated to prophecy. We see this re-interpretation fully carried out in the most priestly writing of the New Testament, the Epistle to the Hebrews, as Professor Nairne has brilliantly shown in his fascinating study entitled *The Epistle of Priesthood*. To borrow Professor Nairne's words: [1]

"The sweeping away [by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews] of the whole Levitical ordinance is a bolder stroke than any that St. Paul ventured. There are two justifications for it. First, that he takes a wide view of the Old Testament as a whole, instead of submitting to the express but really limited authority of some passages. Secondly, that he hears the teaching of the Holy Spirit not only in the written word, but also in the signs of the times;

[1] *The Epistle of Priesthood*, p. 260.

as the age moved on it had become clear that God intended those ordinances to pass away."

At the very beginning of his Epistle this writer makes it clear that for him the revelation given in the past "unto the fathers" was primarily "in the prophets," and it is a remarkable fact that out of about 100 citations from the Old Testament in the Epistle noted by Westcott and Hort, no less than thirty are from the Psalms, seventeen from the prophetic books (mainly Isaiah and Jeremiah), and only forty-three from the Pentateuch (mainly Genesis and Deuteronomy); that is to say, about half are taken from the Psalms and Prophets, and less than half from the Pentateuch.

As Professor Nairne, with fine intuition, has made abundantly clear, there was implicit in the priestly system an element of deep and abiding religious significance.

"There are sinners who feel the stain even more than the chain of past sin, and who cry not so much for the freeing as for the cleansing of their conscience. . . . Among the Apostolic writings, the Johannine books, and Hebrews and to some extent 1 Peter belong to this class. In the Old Testament we find traces of this manner of thought in the imperfect records we have of early priesthood. . . . It emerges at about the time of the exile in a pure and deeper theology, in which sacrifice for sin, cleansing through blood, is the promise of a lofty spiritual hope." [1]

This is profoundly true; but it is to be noted that these deeper implications of the sacrificial system were only made clear and explicit under the influence of the prophets. It was the priest-prophet Ezekiel who first developed these aspects of legal religion. Even here the prophetic impulse is primary. And if we regard the two elements—the priestly and prophetic—as representing discipline and power, the result is the same. They must work in combination to achieve the supreme good; but the prophetic impulse is primary and dominant.

[1] *The Epistle of Priesthood*, p. 165.

It would be extremely unjust to orthodox Judaism of the Rabbinical type to say that the legal religion which enlisted its passionate loyalty was a system of hard and lifeless externals. Its Prayer-book and its use of the Psalter would alone be sufficient to refute such an estimate. But yet it is true to say that it put the Law first and made it supreme. It subordinated the Prophets to the Torah. The prophetic writings could be used to illustrate the Law, but never to supersede it. Such an argument as that of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, not to speak of St. Paul, could only be regarded, from the purely Rabbinic standpoint, as revolutionary and antinomian.

It is clear, then, that the New Testament implicitly and really reverses the traditional order, and makes the Prophets primary, and the Law secondary. And in this estimate, by a true instinct, it places itself in line with the facts of History. For it is the prophetic teaching that embodies all that is distinctive in Israel's religion. The prophets are the classical, because the most authoritative, exponents of revelation. It is largely due to their influence that the Law, as embodied in the Pentateuch, has reached the high level that marks the Torah of Moses as we have it. For it must never be forgotten that the Pentateuch itself contains, besides the priestly, a large prophetic element, which is expressed not only in the so-called Jahvistic-Elohistic (JE) narrative, but also in Deuteronomy. In fact the latter Book represents a fusion of the prophetic and priestly elements. Thus the prophetic teaching is not only primary, but is actually, to a large extent, antecedent to the priestly element in the Pentateuch itself. And this is true even of Moses. For though the fact has been obscured by the mass of legislation and ritual prescription that has grown out of the original nucleus of precepts and precedents which emanated from Moses himself,

yet Moses was a prophet before he was a legislator. In the history of the Canon the Torah of Moses comes first; in the history of the religion it is the great prophets—of whom Moses in his prophetic capacity was the harbinger—who assume the first place.

IV.

The Old Testament thus enshrines a real revelation from God. Criticism has rendered a real service to religion by making this clear, and by emphasising the fact that this revelation was not given once for all, but was progressive in character, being accommodated by different stages to the expanding moral receptivity of the Chosen People. In other words, Criticism enables us to appreciate the Old Testament, much more fully and accurately than was previously possible, as the unique and classical record of the Divine education of the race. Humanity in all its moods, in its weakness and folly, as well as in its noble endeavour and heroism, its pathetic yearnings, its defeats and triumphs, is all reflected in this wonderful literature; but it is humanity guided and disciplined all the time by a Divine Father, humanity purified by suffering and redeemed at the last. To us the Old Testament is incomplete without the New. It finds for us its climax and *dénouement* there. But the New is also incomplete without the Old. It not only presupposes it, but is the authentic development of it. It is the Bible of Christ and His Apostles which is cited on almost every page of the New Testament. Between the two collections of literature there is an organic connexion; and although attempts have been made both in ancient and quite recent times to sever the bond, this has proved, and must always prove, impossible.

It must be unreservedly acknowledged that there is not a little in the Old Testament literature that is crude and

imperfect, judged by high moral standards, while some things contained in it shock the Christian conscience. But it must be remembered that the Old Testament itself contains the means for criticising these imperfections; while its very shortcomings possess sometimes a moral and educational value, even for our own day, as showing how the crude and lawless elements of human nature can be purified and refined under the discipline of the Divine Spirit.

On the other hand, in some of its larger aspects the Old Testament fruitfully supplements the New. This is especially the case in regard to the national and corporate aspects of life. The nation as a unit, with its own proper organs of expression—its civic and religious institutions,—fills a large place in the Old Testament literature. One of the great services rendered by the Prophets is their criticism of the national life in the light of God's ethical requirement. It is true that in the result religion had to be denationalised, and that religious progress was marked by the rise of the individual, as the unit of religious worth. This was a necessary and inevitable stage in religious development, and one of its abiding achievements is the doctrine of the future life. But the older ideal is not thereby abolished. The ideal of a state controlled by religious principles and sanctions—the *civitas Dei*—is one that must always appeal to the Christian conscience. At this moment, when we are confronted with the task of rebuilding the national life, it appeals with insistent and urgent force. Nowhere can the principles which ought to underlie such a reconstruction be studied more fruitfully than in the prophetic literature of the Old Testament, especially as these principles are not presented there in abstract form, but against a background of vivid national life, confronted by difficult problems and dangerous situations.

* * * * *

So far I have confined my discussion to the religious side of the Old Testament literature, which, of course, is the primary and supremely important side. But there are other elements in it of abiding value, which must not be overlooked, though I can only touch upon them in passing. The Bible enshrines some of the greatest literature of the world, judged purely as literature. In the art of telling a story, of painting an impressive picture with dignified simplicity, in pourtraying human character, in painting portraits from the life, the Hebrew narrators at their best are unsurpassed. Witness the Joseph-stories, the majestic narrative of creation, the biography of David. Or take again the sublime oratory of the Prophets, fired as it is with moral fervour, with, in its most finished exponents, its complete mastery of the resources of language—its splendid denunciation, its searching appeals to the conscience, its moving and tender consolation, its vivid delineation of God in His majesty and power and love, and above all in its overpowering sense of God's reality as a Divine Person. Or, again, the splendid poetry of the Psalter, with its glorious galaxy of religious lyrics reflecting every human mood, and sounding the heights and depths of the human spirit. Or, again, that tremendous ode on the fall of the King of Babylon, depicting his descent to Hades, and his reception in the underworld:

How art thou fallen from heaven,
O Lucifer, Son of the Dawn!
How art thou cut down to the ground,
prostrate upon corpses!
And thou—thou hadst said in thine heart,
Heaven's heights will I scale:
Above the stars of God
will I exalt my throne,

And take my seat in the mount of assembly,
in the uttermost North:
I will ascend above the high-banked clouds,
will match the Most High.
Yet to Sheol thou art brought down,
to the uttermost Pit! [1]

The Bible is, indeed, a collection of great literature. From this point of view alone—apart altogether from moral and religious considerations—it is a great boon to have it available practically in every language, accessible to every man, woman and child who can read. In our noble English version it has become interwoven with the finest products of our national literature. Even the poems of a Swinburne are saturated with Biblical phraseology. The Bible has, indeed, become a sort of people's book, and is one of the most potent instruments of popular culture. To eliminate it from our schools would be a real disaster to the highest interests of popular education. I know that some of our neo-Pagans regret that the older Norse mythology has been displaced by the Biblical story. Such regrets are supremely vain. We should have had to pay a high price for retaining, even in an attenuated form, a pagan mythology. Whether the time is not approaching when it will be desirable to have a text of the Old Testament specially edited for school purposes—a "children's Bible"—is another question. It would probably be a great gain to have such an edition; only it ought to be an *official* edition, issued by the authority and with the consent of some duly constituted body, composed, perhaps, of representatives of religion and education.

Reference was made above to the great poetry of the Old Testament. I cannot refrain, in this connexion, from recall-

[1] Isa. xiv. 12–15 (the writer's translation).

ing with honour the name of a great English Old Testament scholar, who was also one of the greatest of Hebraists, and whose abiding glory it is to have penetrated into the secrets and genius of Hebrew poetry, and to have set the study of it on a new basis. I refer to Robert Lowth, who in 1753 published in Latin his lectures on the sacred poetry of the Hebrews under the title *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum*. In 1778, when he was Bishop of London, Lowth also published a new translation, with notes, of the Book of Isaiah, which still remains one of the best commentaries and editions of that great Book, and is always worth consulting. These books are the work of a scholar of genius, and quite remarkable for the time when they appeared. Both were translated, soon after their publication, into German, and have exercised an abiding influence.

V.

In conclusion a word must be said about the tasks that confront the critical study of the Old Testament. I can only hope to be able, in the space at my disposal, to indicate briefly some matters of outstanding importance.

What I may describe as the background of Biblical study has been immensely extended—and will doubtless be still further largely extended in the immediate future—by archaeological investigation and new discoveries. Those who are concerned with Old Testament studies will find it necessary to assimilate the results of such research, and much will have to be done in this direction. As Professor Welch remarked five years ago: "Few things are more needed at present than the patient work of some student, who would gather the results of excavation in Palestine, e.g. during the past few years. The time, of course, has not yet come for bringing these matters into their final shape. . . . But even a collection of the material to serve

a temporary purpose would be greatly useful." [1] An excellent study of this kind was published in French in 1907 by Père Vincent, under the title *Canaan d'après l'excavation récente*. What we need is something on the same scale in English, brought up to date. Doubtless a great impetus to studies in this department will be given when the projected British School of Archaeology is established in Palestine. Then there is the ever-widening field of Assyriology which has already provided so much and such important material affecting Biblical studies in many directions. Not only is Assyrian with Babylonian important for Semitic philological and linguistic studies, but the *data* afforded by it in the departments of history, law and religion have an all-important bearing upon the allied studies in Hebrew. Here is abundant scope for research by ambitious students.

Then, again, the horizon of Old Testament studies has been immensely extended by the inclusion within its scope of the vast apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature of Judaism. Thanks to Dr. Charles, the texts of a large number of these books are now available, both in the originals and translations, and also furnished with excellent commentaries.[2] In the great Oxford *Corpus*, edited by Dr. Charles, and published in two large volumes, the student is provided with a rich treasure-house of this literature. But the material is by no means yet exhausted. It is in this field that we reach the land that connects the Old Testament with the New. The two fields of study cannot be violently separated. They are inseparably linked

[1] *The Present Position of Old Testament Criticism*, in EXPOSITOR, Dec., 1913, p. 520.

[2] Perhaps I may be allowed to call attention in this connexion to the series *Translations of Early Documents*, in which these documents are published separately in cheap and handy form, with short Introductions and Notes (S.P.C.K.).

together. The spiritual bond which binds them close is the Jewish Church, whose life and thought were continuous. Students both of the Old Testament and the New will never be able to approach their studies from the right angle unless they grasp the fact that Judaism was a living religion which, starting from the foundation of the post-exilic community, goes on without a break down to the New Testament period, and, in a modified form, during the centuries since. If the study of Judaism, in this sense, is neglected or treated as of subordinate importance, the result can only be disastrous.

One other department of Old Testament study which furnishes abundant opportunities for original work is the textual. English scholarship has already established an honourable tradition by the work that has been, and is being, done in connexion with the ancient versions of the Bible, especially the LXX. The names of Field and Swete, not to mention older scholars, have gained high renown here; while the larger Cambridge LXX is making excellent progress towards completion under the joint editorship of Brooke and McLean. But a vast amount of work still remains to be done, especially in connexion with the daughter-versions, in providing critical texts.

In the department of Hebrew studies proper I should like to remark that the older English Hebraists did not disdain the study of post-Biblical Hebrew and the Rabbinical literature. Doubtless it was necessary, in the interests of scientific criticism, to concentrate on the Biblical text for a time. But the wider field of Hebrew study cannot indefinitely be ignored. Not only is it important for the philological study of Biblical Hebrew, but this literature has other claims upon the Biblical student. It is true this particular line of study is more immediately important for the New Testament student than for the Old. Here

I may be allowed, perhaps, to repeat some words I have already used in a former article published in this Magazine.

"What is needed is a band of younger scholars who will devote their energies to this line of study in the interests of New Testament science. Sometimes our younger men, who start Hebrew, feel that it is hardly worth their while to pursue Hebrew studies seriously, because they imagine that the goal of such studies is specialism in the Old Testament pure and simple. They feel, perhaps, and very naturally, that their main interests lie in the New Testament. I would venture to put in a plea for the view that a course of Hebrew study, starting with the Old Testament, but continued into the threshold of the early Rabbinical literature, and accompanied by the study of Judaism generally, is one of the best kinds of preparation for approaching the New Testament literature. With such an equipment the scholar will be able to handle the problems that confront him with a surer touch; he will approach them with a clearer vision and a keener sense of reality; and above all they will appear to him instinct with vivid life." [1]

To this necessarily cursive survey of the tasks and visions that confront the study of the Old Testament literature, I would only add one general remark. Two things are urgently necessary for the scholarship of this department: (1) popularisation of the best results of scholarship and Criticism, and (2) the stimulus and organisation of research. The work of popularisation, in the best sense of the term, is urgent. We need reform in the popular methods of studying the Old Testament literature, and in order to secure it the best results of Criticism must be made available in cheap and handy form. Let me take one crucial example of what I mean. In the former part of this article I have dwelt upon the supreme importance of the Prophetic Literature. The tragedy of the popular method of teaching is that it hardly reaches or touches this part of the Bible in any intelligent way at all. No doubt the prophetic books, as we read them in our English Bibles, are difficult

[1] *The Jewish Environment of Early Christianity* (EXPOSITOR, July, 1916, p. 25).

texts. There are many corrupt passages, and the whole text is not articulated in any comprehensible way. Why cannot we have popular aids in the shape of new translations, or rather corrected translations, based upon the English version, but showing emendations which are well supported—I mean embodying them in the text itself—and also splitting up the books into sections marked by appropriate headings, and indicating by differences of type the different *strata* of the text, with indications of date, according to the results of sober and reverent criticism? Such aids would be a boon to students in classes and for private study, and would, I feel convinced, be of great value in stimulating intelligent interest in, and enthusiasm for, these great books. We want the best scholars to do this work. But, if scholarship is to be kept living and keen it must never be content with the bare acceptance of what has been handed down. It must add to the common stock; and so with the work of popularisation there must go, hand in hand, that of research.

At this momentous hour, when we seem to have emerged almost without warning from a horror of great darkness, from a hideously long drawn-out nightmare of blood and tears, into the sweet sunlight and air of Peace, we find ourselves confronted by a strange and unfamiliar world. We have to rebuild the damaged fabric of our national life and to shape it anew to meet the new conditions. Some of us believe that in the gigantic task of reconstruction that confronts us a fateful part will be played by the universities, and especially by those of the newer foundation. The mental discipline, freedom and enrichment which only the higher education, culminating in the universities, can give is indispensable for our democracy if it is to fulfil its high tasks and responsibilities in the only way that is adequate. The position of the English-speaking peoples

in the world to-day is one of unparalleled splendour and opportunity. If we are to retain and use it for the service of mankind we must here, in the heart of the British Empire, have an educated democracy, humanised and inspired by the ideals that true education can alone bestow. And this must be the gift of the Universities in the last resort.

In London the Faculty of Theology has established itself as an integral part of the University system. We are partners in the common life. In this delightful and fruitful comradeship Theology gains much. It is enriched by being brought into contact with the full stream of University life. But Theology gives something of abiding value as well as receives. And we are passionately anxious to see the same combination of gifts at work elsewhere. In this process the department of theological study with which this article is concerned primarily has always, and I am convinced will always, take its full share. The study of the Old Testament, ever bringing forth from its treasures things new and old, is uniquely fitted to enrich the national life.

G. H. Box.

TERTULLIAN ON THE LORD'S PRAYER.

THE Lord's prayer soon started in the early Church a winding stream of exposition, which has left traces of its course in the extant literature. Hitherto more attention has been paid to these traces in the Greek Church than in the Latin. The scope of Dr. F. H. Chase's monograph upon *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (1891) does not allow the writer to do for the Western expositors what G. Walther's essay, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Griechischen Vaterunser-Exegese* (1914), has done for the Greek writers from Clement of Alexandria to Peter of Laodicea. Yet the Latins made their contribution, and it is a contribution which is often of more than merely historical interest. Some one has said that the movement of personal religion throughout the early Church may be followed by tracing the study of the Lord's prayer. That applies specially to the Western Church in which three devotional studies of the prayer appeared, by Tertullian, by Cyprian, and by Augustine. These are the outstanding Latin contributions, all made by distinguished leaders of the North African Church. Tertullian's was used by Cyprian, and was known to Augustine. In some respects, it resembles the expositions of Greek theologians like Origen, Clement, and Chrysostom. We are not surprised to find this, for naturally there was bound to be a certain amount of common matter. Thus, it emphasises the fact that in the opening petition we are not praying for God but to Him. This warning appears to have been felt to be necessary all over the church. Any suggestion of polytheism had to be still eschewed. But in form and contents Tertullian's teaching has distinctive features, characteristic of himself as well as of the Latin theology in general. He is careful, more than once, to give

several explanations of a phrase, both mystical and literal, and he does this without deciding between them so definitely as the Greeks usually do. Like the other Latin fathers, he is interested in the discipline and direction of faith, not in its religious philosophy. Also, he assumes one form of the Lord's prayer. Unlike even Augustine, he never mentions any of the differences between the Matthaean and the Lucan forms. Origen faced this question, and answered it by ingeniously suggesting that Jesus gave the Lord's prayer twice over, once to a large mixed audience and later to the inner circle of disciples. Hence, said Origen the latter form, as preserved by Luke, did not require to be so full as the former ; the disciples had had the benefit of the Lord's instructions. Tertullian ignores such problems altogether. His own text of the Lord's prayer is peculiar Probably it reflects the form of the prayer which was current in the African Church towards the end of the second century. The New Testament was in all likelihood extant in a local Latin version, when he wrote ; but if that version is at all faithfully preserved in the early (Old) Latin manuscripts, Tertullian's own form must have differed from it at several places—and the differences are not to be explained, entirely, by the fact that he quotes loosely and freely, or by the equally obvious fact that the prayer was not yet fixed in a definite liturgical form. However, interesting and important as the textual questions are which his discussion raises, the expository significance is still more striking.

Tertullian's form of the prayer, as reflected in his comments, is : *Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy will be done in heaven and on earth, thy kingdom come ; give us to-day our daily bread, forgive us our debts (as we forgive our debtors), lead us not into temptation but free us from the evil one.* There is, of course, no doxology ; this had not yet been added by the liturgical use of the

prayer, though it soon began to appear in the African Church's version; Cyprian, e.g., read *quoniam est tibi virtus in saecula saeculorum* (k).

His exposition fills the first nine sections of a tract on *Prayer*; that is, it takes up a full third of his space. The *De Oratione* is one of his earlier works, written before he went over to Montanism. It is an address, or at any rate it has the form of an address, to Christians who need instruction upon the meaning and methods of prayer. *Consideremus itaque benedicti* (i), he begins. Whether Tertullian was or was not a presbyter, this reads like the transcript of a devotional and practical homily delivered to a prayer meeting. It is an exposition studded with texts, in order to edify Christians. He assumes that his hearers and readers know their Bibles, and the tract ends like a sermon, with an ascription of praise—"Even the Lord Himself prayed: to whom be honour and power for ever and ever!" The *De Oratione*, in fact, like some other of Tertullian's shorter pieces, is the transcript of a homily spoken to some gathering at Carthage.

The exposition of the Lord's prayer (i.–ix.) starts from an allusion to Luke xi. 1: *as he was praying in a certain place, when he ceased, one of his disciples said to him, "Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his disciples.*" Then, according to Luke, Jesus gave the Lord's prayer to the disciples. This, Tertullian points out, was quite appropriate; the New Testament disciples naturally received a new form of prayer from Him who came to put *new wine in new bottles.* John's form of prayer has not been preserved. The reason is, that John the Baptist was only a forerunner, whose work was at once superseded and completed by the Lord Christ. "The words of prayer which John taught are not extant, simply because earthly things have given way to spiritual things." Whereupon

Tertullian extols the heavenly wisdom of the teaching given by Jesus upon prayer. With Matthew vi. 6–13 in his mind, he singles out three features of this instruction. (*a*) The demand for privacy in prayer is a special demand for faith in a God who can see even in secret places. (*b*) Next, a modest faith is demanded by the prohibition of *much speaking*. (*c*) Thirdly—and this applies specially to the Lord's prayer as an example of what prayer ought to be—fewness of words is accompanied by pregnancy of meaning (*quantumque substringitur verbis tantum diffunditur sensibus*). In the Lord's prayer, short as it is, we find an epitome (*breviarium*) or compendium of belief, of the entire gospel.[1] This last remark is the keynote of Tertullian's exposition, which now begins.

The opening words, *Father who art in heaven*, are themselves an act of faith (ii.); they recall our belief in God and also the reward of faith in being able to address God as *Father*. "It is written: *to them that believed on him, he gave power to be called sons of God* (John i. 12). Many a time the Lord proclaimed to us God as Father; yes, and he ordered us to *call no man 'father' on earth, save Him whom we have in heaven* (Matt. xxiii. 9). Hence in praying thus [i.e. in saying, *Father who art in heaven*] we are also obeying a command. Happy they who acknowledge Him as Father! This is what Israel is blamed for omitting, when the Spirit calls heaven and earth to witness that *I have begotten sons and they have not acknowledged me!* (Isaiah i. 2)." The allusion to "obeying an order" of God, as we utter the prayer, is significant. At the very outset Tertullian brings in one of his favourite ideas, one which recurs throughout

[1] "It is the norm of all pure prayer and indirectly of all pure belief; it is at once the *Lex Orandi* and the *Lex Credendi*. The *Credo* is but the "explication" of what is latent in the *Pater Noster*" (Tyrrell; *Lex Credendi*, p. 81).

the interpretation of the following petitions. For him Christianity moves under the *praecepta* of God. Faith, in the discipline of the Gospel, is new and living and spiritual; Tertullian is never tired of urging this. At the same time, he takes every opportunity of urging that faith is never lawless. It belongs to his strength and his weakness alike that he is so alive to what may be called "moralism."

He then proceeds to extend the range of belief implied in *Father who art in heaven.* "In calling Him *Father*, we also designate Him as God; it is a title both of affection and of authority (*et pietatis et potestatis*)." This point about the meaning of *pater* may be illustrated by an earlier remark in the *Apologeticus* (xxxiv.), that *pater* was a more welcome title to human authorities than *dominus*, since it had associations of affection (*gratius est nomen pietatis quam potestatis. Etiam familiae magis patres quam domini uocantur*). Here, in applying *pater* to God, he notes, correctly enough, that it draws out both filial confidence and obedience. But he does not linger upon the thought.[1] There is nothing, in Tertullian's exposition, of the semi-philosophical interest shown by his religious contemporaries at Alexandria in the relation between man and God as son and Father. What appealed to the speculative piety of Clement and Origen in *Our Father* had no charm for this practical Latin preacher. He does not analyse the child-consciousness of the Christian towards God. Another thought has come into his mind, the thought of Christology. It is not that he dallies with the idea that the Lord offered the Lord's prayer Himself, along with the disciples. What Tertullian does is to analyse the meaning of the Father title for Christians themselves. His form begins *Father who art in heaven;* there is no *our*

[1] He teaches it again, in the next paragraph (iii.), by urging that *filius nouum patris nomen est*—an echo of his well-known idea that God was not *Father* till the generation of the Son.

before *Father*. This omission of *noster* is not due to an exclusive use of the Lucan Gospel text, where indeed Cyprian reads *noster*. Even in the *adversus Praxeam* (xxiii.) Tertullian quotes the phrase as *Pater noster qui es in coelis*. Why he chose the shorter form of address here, we do not know. But it enabled him to add that *Father* on the lips of the church implies the further confession of Christ as *Son;* for Christ Himself said, *I and the Father are one* (John x. 30). Then, he abruptly adds that all this implies the recognition of "our Mother, the Church!" The turn of thought here is surprising, doubly surprising. The term *Father* and *Son* imply, he says, a *Mother* (*de qua constat et patris et filii nomen*). We expect after this an allusion to the Virgin Mary, but it is the church of which he is thinking, the *domina mater ecclesia* of which he had already spoken in the first lines of his glowing address *ad Martyras*.[1] This collocation of Father, Son, and Mother-Church reminds us of the gnostic trinity of "Father, Son, and *mater uiuentium*"; indeed, in a later tract, Tertullian does call the Church *uera mater uiuentium* (*De Anima* xliii.). Tertullian did not substitute the church for the Spirit in the Trinity. His later speculations on these topics are not quite clear, but, for our present purpose, it is enough to notice that he paved the way at this point for Cyprian's statement that "no one can have God as Father, who has not the Church as his Mother" (*de unitate Ecclesiae* vi.). He assumes that his hearers are with him in recognising the Mother Church, though it is perhaps a novelty of his own to find any allusion

[1] Arnobius the younger, a Roman monk in the fifth century, is specially fond of this expression (cp. Dom Morin's *Études, Textes, Découvertes*, 1913, pp. 352, 414); in one place he depicts Mother-Church teaching her children to obey their heavenly Father's will ("hoc ante omnia docuit, ut tuum tibi patrem in caelis ostenderet, cui tu diceres: *Fiat voluntas tua sicut in caelis et in terra*. Vide ergo ubi possis inquirere voluntatem dei: nisi enim illum scieris, penitus implore non poteris"). Tertullian does not work out his view to anything like this length.

to it in the *Pater qui es in coelis*. At any rate he concludes by remarking that in calling God Father we "do honour to God along with His own (*cum suis*, i.e., His Son and His Church), we remember an order, and we brand those who are forgetful of the Father." The last phrase denotes the Jews, the Israel of whom he had just spoken.[1]

As for *Hallowed be Thy name* (iii.), i.e., the name of Father revealed first in the Son (for even Moses was not granted the knowledge of this name), Tertullian begins by explaining carefully that his prayer does not imply any other God whose favour is sought on behalf of the Father; nor does it mean that He loses anything if we fail to offer such a prayer. His name is "hallowed" by Himself, though we have to bless Him (*sanctificare=benedicere*) everywhere for His benefits. But Tertullian finds two further lessons in the petition. It teaches us how we are to glorify God in heaven. Do not the angels round God cry unceasingly, *Holy, holy, holy* (*sanctus, sanctus, sanctus!* Rev. iv. 8)? And are not we candidates[2] for the rank of angels, soon to be ranked among them? Hence, in offering this petition on earth, we are rehearsing for our future employment in heaven. That is, while Origen thought the petition called for an apprehension of God's transcendent being, Tertullian's mind worked more realistically. To this eschatological element he adds, with an equally original touch, an element of broad catholicity. Notice, he observes, we do not pray. *Hallowed be Thy name in us;* by leaving out the personal phrase *in us*, we mean in effect, *Hallowed be Thy name in all.*[3] "We pray that it may be hallowed in us who are in Him, and at the same time in the others

[1] There is another anti-Jewish stroke in xiv.

[2] *Si meruimus*, he puts in; we have to merit that high rank.

[3] In this way he manages to deduce the warning against religious egoism which other expositors of the Lord's Prayer, e.g., Cyprian and Chrysostom, were able to find already in "*our* Father."

for whom God's grace is still waiting." This is a subtle interpretation, which is certainly read into the text. And he supports it by a characteristic plea. Here again, he adds, we are intended to obey an order of God, viz., the command to pray for all, even for our enemies. It is the note we have already heard. Tertullian's conception of religion is alive with the sense of obedience to God our Lawgiver, and this emerges in connexion with phrase after phrase of the Lord's prayer. When he puts in, "even for our enemies," he means that the rest, who are to join the present members of the Church in hallowing God's name, are at present "enemies" of the Church, pagans in the Roman Empire. Tertullian's exegesis is fanciful and forced, but the spirit which breaks through his interpretation of this petition is excellent.

The next section provides a genuine surprise (iv.). He reverses the order of the petitions, and takes *Thy will be done in heaven and on earth* before *Thy kingdom come.* This is not accidental; it is deliberate. He offers no explanation of what is, to us, a remarkable transposition. The only suggestion I can offer[1] is that, as he took the *kingdom* petition eschatologically, he may have felt that it should come last of the three. He does not, however, deduce any lesson from the order, nor does he claim to bring out the connexion between the *will* and the *kingdom.*

"It is not," he begins, "that any one can hinder God's will from being done and that we are praying that His will may prove successful; what we ask is that His will may be done in all men." But he does not develop the thought of *all,* as he did at the close of the preceding paragraph. The

[1] For it seems very unlikely that the fortuitous mention of the *will* between the *name* and the *kingdom* in the Jewish Kaddish ("magnified and sanctified be his great name in the world which he hath created according to his will. May he establish his kingdom during your life") should have influenced Tertullian in this direction.

petition suggests another line of exhortation. As Tertullian [1] quotes it, there is no *sicut*; it is not *on earth as in heaven*, but *in heaven and on earth*. Thus, there is no suggestion of a direct contrast. Now figuratively or mythically, Tertullian observes, we men (as spirit and flesh) are the *heaven and earth* of which Jesus speaks.[2] That is, inwardly and outwardly, we must do His will. And even if the words are taken literally, he continues, the meaning is the same. For God's will is our salvation in earth and in heaven, and God's will is that we walk by His rules for life. We pray for the realisation of His will in ourselves, because we need the strength of His will to carry out His will. Thus the point of the petition is that we set ourselves to do and bear the Father's will, as the heavenly Lord Himself showed us when on earth He preached, laboured, and endured. The three spheres of our obedience to God's orders and discipline are the same for us as for Him—teaching, active service, and suffering.

The thought of suffering leads Tertullian to put in that by this petition [3] we also warn ourselves to be patient (*ad sufferentiam nosmetipsos praemonemus*); for, although there is nothing evil about God's will,[4] it may bear hardly upon us. We must commit ourselves to His will patiently, as our Lord

[1] The omission of *sicut* was evidently common in the African church; Cyprian's text agrees here with Tertullian's.

[2] Augustine admits that this is a legitimate view, even though he reads *sicut*: "non absurde quidam intellexerunt, in spiritu et corpore" (*Enchiridion*, xxx. 115). It is plain, at any rate, from Tertullian's order that if he knew, he had no sympathy with the idea which Origen was the first to popularise, that the phrase about heaven and earth was meant to apply to the *name* and the *kingdom* petition as well.

[3] Strictly speaking, we ought not to call these clauses "petitions," in the sense that the prayers for daily bread, pardon, and protection from evil are. *Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done*, are devout aspirations or invocations, breathing a spirit of adoration, hope, and submission to the Father.

[4] Hence in uttering this petition, we are desiring our own good as well as honouring God.

Himself did in Gethsemane. When He prayed, *Father, remove this cup*, He desired to show the weakness of the flesh; but then He remembered and said, *Nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done* (Luke xxii. 42)—a prayer which was meant to show what true patience is. This is the first and only instance in the exposition of Christ's example being used to explain a petition. But the last words of the tract put forward His example as the supreme incentive to prayer. "What more can I say upon the duty of prayer?" he asks, after a glowing panegyric upon its various functions. "Even the Lord Himself prayed—to whom be honour and praise for ever and ever!"

Thy kingdom come, like *Thy will be done*, refers to our human life (v.). It is not as if God had still to reign! He is King, for *the heart of all kings is in his hand* (Prov. xxi. 1). Tertullian, however, finds in the petition a timely warning for Christians who prayed that the end of the world might be deferred. He takes the words in their original and directly eschatological sense, and pointing out how illogical it is for members of the Church, with such words on their lips, to desire any delay of the last consummation. "Our desire is a speedy reign, not a protracted service" (*optamus maturius regnare et non diutius seruire*). Why, he declares, "even if there had been no injunction in the prayer about praying for the coming of the kingdom, we would of our own accord have put forward this plea, in our eagerness to embrace our hope. The souls of the martyrs under the altar cry aloud reproachfully[1] to the Lord, *How long, O Lord, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the*

[1] *Inuidia*, a strange expression, but one of the daring terms which Tertullian liked to use. He had already told the Romans how we Christians *inuidia caelum tundimus, deum tangimus* (Apol. x. 1). The modern equivalent in the vocabulary of earnest piety is "wrestling with God in prayer"; but *inuidia* suggests expostulation, such as we overhear occasionally in the Psalter.

earth? (Rev. vi. 10). Surely their avenging is determined by the end of the world. No, as quickly as may be, *O Lord, Thy kingdom come*—the longing of Christians, the confusion of the nations, the joy of angels, the kingdom for which we suffer, aye and for which we pray!"

In the *Apologeticus* (xxxii., xxxix.) Tertullian had taken exactly the opposite view. He had urged, as a proof of the political loyalty of Christians, that they always prayed for the emperor, and that one reason for these prayers was the desire to avert the final catastrophe which would occur if the empire were to collapse—Rome being, of course, bound up with the stability of the world. "We are under another and a stronger necessity to pray for emperors, since we know that the violent force which threatens all the world, the very end of the world's age, with its threat of fearful distress, is being held back by the respite vouchsafed to the Roman Empire. . . . We pray for emperors, for their ministers and authorities, for the position of the world, for general peace, for the postponement of the end" —*pro mora finis*. Or, as he puts it sharply, "We have no desire to suffer such horrors, and in praying for their postponement we are favouring the continuance of Rome." But Tertullian the apologist is one thing; Tertullian, speaking not to outside pagans but to his fellow-Christians, is another. It suited his purpose, in defending the church against the charge of disloyalty, to lay stress upon their prayers for the emperor, and to assert that the last thing Christians hoped for was the end of the world. But here and elsewhere his ardent longing for the second advent catches fire from other passages of the New Testament. Thus in the treatise *De Resurrectione Carnis* (xxii.), he tells his fellow-Christians that "our prayers sigh for the fall of the world-order, for the passing away of the world at the Lord's great day, that day of wrath and retribution."

This is his word in the *De Oratione*. His exposition of the petition is true to its original meaning, much more true, exegetically and historically, than the views of most other interpreters in the early church, who declined to follow his lead. And what makes his interpretation particularly interesting is that it clashes with a position which he already occupied as a debater.

"How beautifully the divine wisdom has arranged the order of the prayer, so that after things heavenly, that is, God's name, God's will, God's kingdom, room should be found for earthly requirements in the petition, Give us this day our daily bread!" So Tertullian opens his exposition of these words (vi.). It falls into two parts. First, a mystical interpretation,[1] not unlike what Origen gives. What is this bread but Christ, *the Bread of Life*, as He said Himself (John vi. 36)? Tertullian subjoins an allusion to the Eucharist[2]; Christ said of the bread, *This is my body* (Luke xxii. 19), "so that in asking our *daily bread* we are praying to be continually in Christ and never divided from His Body." The phraseology of the passage is difficult; the words *corpus eius in pane censetur* are one of the debated sentences in the problem of determining Tertullian's view of the relation between the body and the bread in the Eucharist. But the general drift of the passage is sufficiently plain for our present purpose. And what follows is equally clear. Again he supplements the mystical by the literal interpretations (unlike Origen, who would not admit that the latter was worthy of Jesus and His disciples). Read this petition

[1] Marcion had already paved the way for it by reading, *Give us Thy bread*.

[2] Such an interpretation would probably be one of the factors which led to Jerome's substitution, in the Vulgate of Matt. vi. 11, of *superstantialem* for *cotidianum* as a rendering of ἐπιούσιον. Jerome (on Titus ii. 14) insists that the daily bread cannot reverently be understood except as Christ.

in the light of the word, *Seek ye first the kingdom, and then these things also shall be added to you* (Matt. vi. 33), and you see two truths. (*a*) One is, live simply, without desiring luxuries. Christ tells us to pray for *bread* alone, for what is absolutely necessary to life. This is a fair, if not a very relevant, application of the text; but Tertullian drives it home with a wrong piece of exegesis. *After the rest do the nations seek* (Matt. vi. 32), he remarks, as if these other things meant luxuries as opposed to simple fare. What Jesus really meant, of course, was food and clothing, the very things that were to be added to the faithful who had sought the kingdom first and foremost. But Tertullian understood them to mean luxurious extras. In a later treatise, written during his Montanist period (*De Jejuniis*, xv.), he repeats this interpretation of the daily bread: "The Lord in our ordinary prayer bade us ask for 'bread,' not for the wealth of Attalus besides." (*b*) Only bread, and only bread for to-day; our Lord had said, *Take no thought for to-morrow, what ye shall eat* (Matt. vi. 34), and therefore He bids us pray for our bread *this day*. We are not to worry about the future.

This practical line—"nothing but bread, and no worry about to-morrow"—was followed independently by some of the later Greek interpreters like Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa. It is thoroughly characteristic of Tertullian. Anything ascetic, in the sense of a protest against the fashionable, indulgent Christianity which he saw at Carthage, appealed to him. There was no problem for him at all in *daily*. He knew Greek, but ἐπιούσιον apparently was adequately rendered by *cotidianum* in his judgment, and all he had to do was to draw his moral. The moral, we might add, is as legitimate as ever, if ἐπιούσιον is taken as bread *for to-morrow;* Jesus would then be represented as saying to His disciples, "Do not worry about to-morrow;

all you have to do is to ask the Father to give you your bread for to-morrow."

But food alone, or food taken by wilful sinners, is not enough (vii.); that would only leave us like cattle fattened to be killed! After God's bounty we must pray for His mercy, that *our debts* may be *forgiven* us. "To pray for pardon is to make confession (*exomologesis*), for he who prays for pardon confesses sin." *Exomologesis* is often a technical term in Tertullian for the outward, severe and prolonged expression of penitence before the church; but here it is used more generally in the sense of "open confession" or "contrition." As for the meaning of the petition itself, Tertullian simply refers to the parable of the two debtors (in Matt. xviii. 21–35) as an explanation of what Jesus meant by saying that we must forgive our debtors if we are to be forgiven our debts. In a later treatise (*de Pudicitia*, xi.),he has occasion to explain that the sins we forgive one another are only offences against one another, not sins against God. But here he is content to reiterate the general truth. Indeed, the treatment of this petition is undistinguished. And neither here nor elsewhere does he quote in full the second half of the petition.[1]

Subsequently this petition came up in the discussion of post-baptismal sin. Thus Jerome (*aduersus Iouinianum*, ii. 3) quotes it to prove not even the baptized require to pray for forgiveness. Such an application would have been quite relevant for Tertullian; but he hastens on to show that God not only provides and pardons but preserves.

The discussion (viii.) of the last petition is as brief as its predecessor, but it is far more interesting. In *lead us not into temptation* we are praying not simply for the pardon

[1] Evidently (*remittere nos quoque profitemur*) he read the present (ἀφίομεν, Luke) form, not the past (ἀφήκαμεν, Matthew). A later allusion in the *de Pudicitia* (ii.) suggests (*debitoribus dimissuros nos in oratione profitemur*) the Old Syriac future rendering.

but for the avoidance of sin altogether; this petition means, "Do not allow us to be led into temptation—that is, of course, by the Tempter." Tertullian's explanation of this difficult phrase thus turns upon the assumption that the Tempter is the devil, and that God merely allows him, for certain reasons, to tempt certain people.[1] He warmly repudiates the suggestion that God Himself tempts anybody. That would mean either that He did not know what a man's faith was or that He agreed to overthrow it—an attitude of weakness (ignorance) or of malice which belongs to the devil, not to God. It is the devil who leads us on to dangerous ground, and who then proves dangerous to us. God did not *tempt* Abraham, He simply wished to prove his faith, when He ordered him to offer up Isaac. More than that, His far-reaching purpose in that incident was to give a practical example of the precept which He was presently to lay down, viz., that not even children are to be loved more than God (Matt. x. 37). Once more, it is the thought of the prayer converging on duty, on some practical order of God, which occurs to Tertullian. But he does not allow himself to be detained by it. The urgent meaning is to show from Scripture that the agent of temptation is not God the Father. It was the devil who tempted our Lord; for Tertullian that is decisive. He then quotes the counsel of the Lord to the disciples in Gethsemane, *Pray lest ye be tempted* (Matt. xxvi. 46), and points out that they were tempted because they slept instead of praying. Satan is the *praesides et artifex* of temptation; to fail in prayer is to desert the Lord, and thus to fall into the power of the Tempter. Then Tertullian concludes by observing that this is borne out by the last clause of the

[1] The permissive sense which Tertullian attaches to μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς is possibly in the Aramaic already, so that his interpretation may have been more accurate than he realised.

petition, *but deliver us from the evil one.* The Latin is, *sed devehe nos a malo,* i.e. free us from him. Tertullian is translating for himself. *Devehe* is put for *erue.*

The last phrase is ambiguous, or would be if it stood alone; but in his treatise on "Flight during a persecution" (*De Fuga,* ii.) Tertullian had afterwards occasion to handle the same subject, and his treatment of it clears up the present passage. In the Lord's prayer, he remarks, "when we appeal to the Father, *Lead us not into temptation* (and what is a greater temptation than persecution?), we acknowledge that temptation occurs by the will of Him whom we beg to avert it from us; for this is the meaning of what follows, *but deliver us from the malignant one* (*sed erue nos a maligno*) —that is, 'do not lead us into temptation by giving us over to the Malignant One.' For we are delivered from the hands of the devil when we are not handed over to him to be tempted." Why God should ever allow the devil to tempt good men, is explained by Tertullian along two lines; it is either to test the faith of the faithful, or to keep them humble (as in the case of St. Paul and his thorn in the flesh, which was a *messenger of Satan*).

"Lead us not into temptation"—*id est, ne nos patiaris induci ab eo utique qui temptat.* Tertullian never altered his views on this. It is the devil who tempts men, and men are tempted only when God permits it. The interpretation enjoyed a special vogue in the Latin Church, or at least in the Carthaginian. As we shall see, it affected the very language[1] of the Lord's prayer; Augustine found local Christians who said, "Suffer us not to be led into temptation." And even by Cyprian's time, it had apparently found its way into some texts of the prayer. Possibly, it may be prior to Tertullian; if the language of *adversus*

[1] In the old Latin *k* the petition runs: *ne passus fueris induci nos in temptationem.*

Marcionem (IV. xxvi.) is pressed, it may be conjectured to have lain already in Marcion's text. This, however, is of minor interest, from the expository point of view. What is more important is to note that Tertullian rightly explained the first phrase of the petition by the second, the *clausula interprans*. "Deliver us from the evil one, instead of letting us fall into temptation"; so we might paraphrase the whole petition, in Tertullian's view. "Keep us out of the power of the evil one, do not let him beguile us into temptation." It was not he but Jerome (on Matt. xxvi. 41) who popularised the view that temptation here means temptation too great for us to bear—a devotional explanation which obviously arose from Paul's language in 1 Corinthians x. 12, 13.

This ends the exposition. Tertullian sums up admiringly (ix.) the rich suggestiveness of the Lord's prayer as a brief summary of duty and devotion.[1] "God alone could teach how He would be called upon." Then (x.) he explains that this set form or rather model of prayer does not exclude other prayers, which may be added to it. Did not our Lord, after giving this prayer, also (Matt. vii. 7) say, *ask and ye shall receive?* Only, he adds these special and private prayers must always be "mindful of God's commands" (*cum memoria tamen praeceptorum*), i.e., offered in the spirit of strict attention to the divine regulations and demands which have been already put forward in the Lord's teaching and in the prayer itself. With this caution, he passes on to a discussion of prayer in general, which occupies the rest of the tract (xi.–xxix.). The Lord's prayer is a standard (*legitima*); that is his last word on it. And it is a standard

[1] This is his predominant interest, to show how the Lord's prayer implies the full extent of Christian belief. Belief, for Tertullian, was instinct with duty, so that his dogmatic prepossession did not interfere with the practical aim of his exposition.

especially as it recalls to the children the standing orders of God for faith. This is the temper which we have already seen to be so characteristic of Tertullian's exposition. "The further from God's orders, the further from His ears."

JAMES MOFFATT.

LOGIC AND PESSIMISM.

HOWEVER we account for it, the modern mind seems to be oppressed by a growing sense of homelessness. The conviction spreads ever more widely that we are living in an alien and perhaps a hostile world. We are cradled in injustice, and Nature, if not a malignant enemy, is a careless, indifferent foster-mother. The other-worldly note has indeed been extruded from religion. We refuse to sing hymns about the vale of tears, and resent a description of ourselves as strangers and pilgrims in a weary wilderness. But for many the loss of the religious sense of pilgrimage has only intensified the feeling of being strangers in a strange land. They respond readily to Henley's verse about the fell clutch of circumstance, and the bludgeonings of chance. Their ideal picture of mankind is a dauntless figure, still captain of his soul, unyielding, unsubdued, and yet hopeless in a world which neither cares nor knows. Such estrangement from our environment may be the price we pay for civilisation. More probably it springs from something defective in that civilisation. But it is attributed to scientific progress in particular. Darwinism has rendered us homeless in an inhospitable world.

This pessimistic attitude towards life has found few more impressive exponents in modern literature than the Hon. Bertrand Russell. The volume of essays entitled *Mysticism and Logic* includes a reprint of "A Free Man's Worship," in which with a moving eloquence Bertrand Russell seeks to avert the inward defeat likely to result from the scientific view of the world. The world in which our ideals must find a home is painted in the darkest colours. "That Man is the product of causes which had no prevision of the end they were achieving: that his origin, his growth, his hopes and

fears, his loves and his beliefs are but the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms: that no fire, no heroism, no intensity of thought and feeling, can preserve an individual life beyond the grave: that all the labours of all the ages, all the devotion, all the inspiration, all the noonday brightness of human genius, are destined to extinction in the vast death of the solar system, and that the whole temple of Man's achievement must inevitably be buried beneath the débris of a universe in ruins—all these things, if not quite beyond dispute, are yet so nearly certain that no philosophy which rejects them can hope to stand. Only within the scaffolding of these truths, only on the firm foundation of unyielding despair, can the soul's habitation be safely built."[1]

There arises at once the problem of maintaining man's self-respect and ideals. "How in such an alien and inhuman world, can so powerless a creature as Man preserve his aspirations untarnished?"[2] In brief, Bertrand Russell answers, let us recognise that our aspirations are our own, that they are transient and doomed to disappointment, and let us nevertheless be true to them, at least in imagination. "The world of fate is not good."[3] "When we have realised that Power is largely bad, that man, with his knowledge of good and evil, is but a helpless atom in a world which has no such knowledge, the choice is again presented to us: shall we worship Force or shall we worship Goodness? Shall God exist and be evil, or shall he be recognised as the creation of our own conscience?" Mr. Russell has no hesitation about the answer. "The worship of Force to which Carlyle and Nietzsche and the creed of militarism have accustomed us, is the result of failure to maintain our own ideals against a hostile universe."[4] "If Power is bad, as it seems to be, let us reject it from our hearts. In this

[1] *Mysticism and Logic*, p. 47.
[2] *M.L.*, p. 48. [3] *M.L.*, p. 49. [4] *M.L.*, p. 50.

lies Man's true freedom : in determination to worship only the God created by our own love of the good, to respect only the heaven which inspires the insight of our best moments." Renunciation rather than indignation is the right attitude wherewith to face the tyranny of Time and Fate and Death. For such renunciation leaves us free for unfettered contemplation. Armed with renunciation we can build a temple for the worship of our ideals. "In all the multiform facts of the world—in the visual shapes of trees and mountains and clouds, in the events of the life of man, even in the very omnipotence of Death—the insight of creative idealism can find the reflection of a beauty which its own thoughts first made. In this way mind asserts its subtle mastery over the thoughtless forces of Nature."[1] The freedom thus secured is heroic rather than happy. "Brief and powerless is Man's life : on him and all his race the slow sure doom falls pitiless and dark. Blind to good and evil, reckless of destruction, omnipotent matter rolls on its relentless way : for Man, condemned to-day to lose his dearest, to-morrow himself to pass through the gate of darkness, it remains only to cherish, ere yet the blow falls, the lofty thoughts that ennoble his little day : disdaining the coward terrors of the slave of Fate, to worship at the shrine that his own hands have built : undismayed by the empire of chance, to preserve a mind free from the wanton tyranny that rules his outward life : proudly defiant of the irresistible forces that tolerate for a moment his knowledge and his condemnation, to sustain alone, a weary but unyielding Atlas, the world that his own ideals have fashioned despite the trampling march of unconscious power."[2] Such is the vision of encircling gloom revealed to Mr. Russell as he holds aloft the flickering torch of science.

It may be doubted whether the acceptance of this view

[1] *M.L.*, p. 53. [2] *M.L.*, p. 56.

of life is prompted exclusively by the disinterested love of truth of which alone Mr. Russell himself is conscious. At least it is difficult not to suspect that the bias of temperament supplements, if it does not supply, the trend of evidence. In philosophy as in practical affairs some men habitually discount their hopes and over-estimate their fears. In every eventuality, they want to know the worst and assume that the worst is most likely to be the truth. They imagine that it is always safer to make this assumption. Only on the foundation of despair can the temple of the free man's worship be *safely* built. Only thus can we absolutely assure ourselves against disappointment. Blessed is he that expects nothing. Mr. Russell constantly reminds us that hopes may be dupes, and as constantly forgets that fears may be liars.

In Mr. Russell's own case, there is some evidence that he is the victim of what has been aptly termed, astronomical intimidation. The earth for him is a "petty planet,"[1] and the insignificance of our world confirms the insignificance of ourselves. Copernicus in destroying geocentrism has altered our estimate of our own importance. "Round this apparent scientific fact [that the earth was the centre of the universe], many human desires rallied: the wish to believe Man important in the scheme of things, the theoretical desire for a comprehensive understanding of the Whole, the hope that the course of nature might be guided by some sympathy with our wishes. . . . When Copernicus swept away the astronomical basis of this system of thought, it had grown so familiar and had associated itself so intimately with men's aspirations that it survived with scarcely diminished force."[2] This survival perplexes Mr. Russell. It is true enough that Copernicus and Darwin combined have overthrown the simple creed of "the Leather Bottel," in which song the

[1] *M.L.*, p. 50. [2] *M.L.*, p. 99.

writer, after surveying "the wondrous things that do abound" in the universe, declared "'Twas for one end, the use of man." But no revolution in astronomy and no revelation of man's origins can finally determine our estimate of our worth. The reason why ethically inspired systems of metaphysics survive the Copernican revolution in astronomy is that they never had an astronomical basis at all. They rallied round the earlier astronomy, they were not based on it nor dependent on it. The desires which found their account in such systems can dispense with the warrant of geocentrism. The size of the earth, and its position in the universe of stars, have little or no bearing on the importance of Man, or on our desire to understand the universe as a whole, or on the hope of a sympathetic bond between Nature and ourselves. It is really Mr. Russell who is afraid of affirming the worth of mankind unless he gets some kind of warrant from astronomy.

Cosmic terror, the awe inspired by the inter-stellar spaces, prompts many to reject the Christian estimate of man's worth to God and to regard as frustrate the hope of being at home in the world. Though Mr. Bertrand Russell seems at times to be clearly influenced by this emotion, another fear warps his judgment more effectively. It seems impossible that the disinterested love of truth should ever itself become a morbid affection, but if this is possible, the dread of failing to achieve strict impartiality would be a natural form of the disease. Just as honour may become over-scrupulous, so scientific honesty may become fastidious. The disinterested love of truth largely consists in a readiness to recognise disagreeable facts. It may easily degenerate into an unwillingness to build on agreeable ones. Mr. Bertrand Russell is afraid to commit himself to the simplest value-judgments, for fear of flattering human self-esteem. He twice in his volume rebukes those philosophers who find an element of

progress in evolution. "If human conceit was staggered for a moment by its kinship with the ape, it soon found a way to reassert itself and that way is the 'philosophy' of evolution. A process which led from the amoeba to Man appeared to the philosophers to be obviously a progress —though whether the amoeba would agree with this opinion is not known."[1] "Organic life, we are told, has developed gradually from the protozoon to the philosopher, and this development, we are assured, is indubitably an advance. Unfortunately, it is the philosopher, not the protozoon, who gives us this assurance, and we can have no security that the impartial outsider would agree with the philosopher's self-complacent assumption."[2] Apparently Mr. Russell intends these pleasantries to be taken seriously. He thinks man's sense of superiority to the rest of the animal creation needs confirmation from the amoeba, though the fact that the amoeba is incapable of agreeing or disagreeing with man's judgment is well known, and offers sufficient guarantee that any impartial outsider would recognise the philosopher's assumption to be founded in common-sense and not on human vanity. Mr. Russell hesitates to make the mildest assertion of human worth, because it gratifies the wish to find ourselves of some importance in the world. Yet he can't help himself. In the essay on a Free Man's Worship he writes: "In spite of Death . . . Man is yet free . . . to examine, to criticise, to know and in imagination to create. *To him alone, in the world with which he is acquainted, this freedom belongs*: and in this lies his *superiority* to the resistless forces that control his outward life."[3] Is this assertion of superiority an irrational, self-complacent assumption which we dare not trust until it is countersigned by the protozoon?

This endeavour after absolute impartiality cannot com-

[1] *M.L.*, p. 23. [2] *M.L.*, p. 106. [3] *M.L.*, p. 48.

pletely succeed. It results not in scientific devotion to truth but in the stifling of reason itself. It imparts a bias to Mr. Russell's philosophy which is the harder to detect because the source of it seems indistinguishable from the cult of pure reason. The presence of this bias confirms one in the impression that the basis of the free man's worship is chosen not because scientific honesty compels the acceptance of the so-called foundation-truths, but because the free man fears he would not be truly impartial if he were not willing to build on such disconcerting conclusions.

We are the more disposed to suspect some bias behind the view of man and of man's relation to the world of matter, offered in the free man's worship, because this scientific philosophy hardly seems compatible with the severer ideal of such a philosophy, developed in later essays. The firm foundation of unyielding despair is severely shaken, if not completely shattered, by the subsequent developments of Mr. Russell's Realism. In a delightful paper on scientific method in philosophy, Mr. Russell urges that philosophy should attend less to the results of science and more to its method. "Much philosophy inspired by science has gone astray through preoccupation with the results momentarily supposed to have been achieved."[1] The reasons for the failure of such philosophies are admirably stated. To begin with, "the sum total of what is experienced by mankind is a selection from the sum of what exists."[2] Consequently even if scientific results were based on the whole of human experience, it would be dangerous to assume that they held true of things generally. Secondly, "the most general results of science are the least certain and the most liable to be upset by subsequent research."[3] "The prudent man of science acquires a certain instinct as to the kind of uses which may be made of present scientific beliefs without incurring

[1] *M.L.*, p. 98. [2] *M.L.*, p. 102. [3] *Ibid.*

the danger of complete and utter refutation from the modifications likely to be introduced by subsequent discoveries. Unfortunately the use of scientific generalisations of a sweeping kind as the basis of philosophy is just that kind of use which an instinct of scientific caution would avoid, since, as a rule, it would only lead to true results if the generalisation upon which it is based stood in *no* need of correction."[1] The philosophies which Mr. Russell has in mind are the philosophies of evolution with their optimistic belief in progress. One philosophy to which the description exactly applies is the basis of the free man's worship. The scientific beliefs on which Mr. Russell builds in the earlier essay do not obviously stand in no need of correction, and are by no means guaranteed against the probability of revision. In the free man's worship he makes precisely that use of scientific generalisations which an instinct of scientific caution would avoid. In developing this attitude towards life, he was writing, it would seem, neither as a prudent man of science nor as a philosopher.

The philosophy of the earlier essay is obviously unscientific in the ideal sense, in and through the use it makes of scientific generalisations of a sweeping kind. This is not the only respect in which the philosophic attitude commended in the free man's worship is itself condemned by the canons laid down in the essay on scientific method. Mr. Russell hopes to revolutionise philosophy by getting rid of preoccupation with the notion of good and evil. Hitherto philosophers have been expected to give grounds for either optimism or pessimism. But Mr. Russell believes that the philosopher who realises the significance of scientific method will regard the question of optimism and pessimism as outside his scope, "except, possibly, to the extent of maintaining that it is insoluble."[2] Mr. Russell returns to this idea of ethical

[1] *M.L.*, p. 103. [2] *M.L.*, p. 99.

neutrality again and again. "Driven from the particular sciences, the belief that the notions of good and evil must afford a key to the understanding of the world has sought a refuge in philosophy. But even from this last refuge, if philosophy is not to remain a set of pleasing dreams, this belief must be driven forth."[1] "Until we have learnt to think of it in ethically neutral terms, we have not arrived at a scientific attitude in philosophy: and until we have arrived at such an attitude, it is hardly to be hoped that philosophy will achieve any solid results."[2] Mr. Russell applies this criterion to idealisms and evolutionisms, philosophies of a more or less optimistic type. He forgets that such a canon will rule out as unscientific, a philosophy which founds on unyielding despair, which pronounces the world of fact bad, and which passes condemnation on the universe of matter. How can a philosopher who regards the question of optimism or pessimism as outside his scope urge men to base their souls' habitation on the firm foundation of unyielding despair? There is no ethical neutrality about the free man's worship.

Some of the most penetrating and suggestive criticisms on earlier philosophies, contained in Mr. Russell's essays, consist in the exposure of hasty generalisation, and in demonstrating by analysis the complexity of apparently simple notions and problems. Thus he takes the problem of space and resolves it into three distinct problems. He questions the traditional use of the term "universe" in philosophy, doubts the very existence of any such thing, and suggests that we cannot make any pronouncements about it in any case. He calls Herbert Spencer to account for believing in the persistence of force, as a kind of scientific dogma. The more one studies such admirable essays in analysis as those on the ultimate constituents of matter or on sense-data and physics, the more one regrets that the essayist has not turned

[1] *M.L.*, p. 30. [2] *M.L.*, p. 44, and cf. pp. 107–9.

his power of analysis on to the ideas employed in his less mature paper. There we read of accidental collocations of atoms, of Power with a big P, of omnipotent Matter, of the irresistible forces of Nature, of Time, Fate, and Death, and the more we read, the more we feel that the writer has given us rhetoric rather than analysis, sentiment rather than scientific philosophy. For all the elevation of the style we would gladly have received in exchange a little more accuracy in definition, more thoroughgoing criticism of ideas. In proportion as thoughtful readers are won to his ideal of a scientific philosophy, they will be repelled by the positions underlying the free man's worship. It is strange that Mr. Russell does not see how the reasoning of the earlier essay offends against the essential canons of his later philosophy. Curiously enough, the only change of mind he records in relation to the free man's worship, concerns theoretical ethics. He is less convinced than he was of the objectivity of good and evil. Otherwise the general attitude towards life unfolded in the essay still commends itself to him. The fact that the philosophy involved in it is based on the alleged results of science rather than on its method, departs flagrantly from ethical neutrality, and abounds in unanalysed general notions, does not as yet trouble Mr. Russell.

It may, however, be urged that criticisms of this kind are somewhat formal. They may suggest that Mr. Russell's logic is not as exact as it is reputed to be. They do not prove his pessimism to be substantially incorrect. If you take Mr. Russell *au pied de la lettre*, he seems to suggest that the philosopher is not to form or express ethical judgments at all. What he really means is that the philosopher is not to exercise his moral faculties until his strictly philosophic enquiries are ended. It is a postponement of the ethical question which is really desired. "Ethical consideraions can only legitimately appear when the truth

has been ascertained: they can and should appear as determining our feeling towards the truth, and our manner of ordering our lives in view of the truth, but not as themselves dictating what the truth is to be."[1] The free man's worship is just such an essay in determining our feeling towards the truth when it has been ascertained. It is not strictly metaphysical: it is meta-metaphysical. Clearly Mr. Russell also believes the results of science on which he builds to be sufficiently assured, and the general notions to be analysed adequately, for his immediate purpose. This assumption invites further discussion. Mr. Russell holds that certain beliefs as to the origin and destiny of man have been so nearly proved by science that for the purpose of defining our attitude towards life they may and indeed must be accepted as truths. Science has almost, if not quite, proved that Man is the product of blind causes: that his origin and growth, his hopes and fears, his loves and his beliefs, are but the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms: and that there is no hope of life beyond the grave. The truths which are here described as almost beyond dispute have, of course, been hotly disputed since men were capable of reflecting on their experience. It is not exactly manifest that the lifelong discussion is coming to an end, much less that it is terminating in the conclusions outlined by Mr. Russell. There is indeed a fashionable trend of opinion in this direction. A reviewer in the *New Statesman* asserts that most thinking people have absorbed from the atmosphere such conclusions as these:—"The dependence of the mind on the body has been shown to be complete. The body is the soul's expression, its indispensible tool without which it is not. Viewed dispassionately, the life of man is no different, from the aspect of survival, than (*sic*) that of a plant. However lofty be

[1] *M.L.*, p. 7.

Nature's aims . . . still they are not ours." Conclusions of this type are undoubtedly often taken for granted in our present intellectual atmosphere. That science has established them or is likely to establish them, is nevertheless open to question. It would be easy to show that the complete dependence of the mind on the body is by no means proved and is not even regarded as probable by many scientific psychologists. For Mr. Russell himself it appears that the question is at least an open one,[1] and yet unless the mind is completely dependent on the body, it is difficult to see in what sense man's hopes and fears, loves and beliefs can be described as the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms. It would likewise be easy to show that the progress of scientific inquiry has not disproved the hope of immortality. But without recourse to lines of scientific inquiry which Mr. Russell apparently ignores, it seems to me that his own account of the present position of science forbids him to offer these beliefs about man's origin and destiny as foundation-truths.

Mr. Russell, then, believes that a practically isolated system which we may call nature, without consciousness or intelligence or prevision of results, accidentally brought into being creatures endowed with consciousness, with reason, with the knowledge of good and evil. This emergence of consciousness is a purely temporary phenomenon, for consciousness is destined to be blotted out in a cosmic catastrophe. Science has shown that the unconscious has given momentary birth to the conscious, the non-rational has produced the rational, the non-moral the moral, and, in short, the natural has begotten the supernatural. The evidence for this miracle appears to Mr. Russell to be so overwhelming that he thinks only prejudice will reject the fact as incredible. If men argue, as they do, that consciousness, reason, and

[1] *M.L.*, p. 100.

conscience in man are inexplicable without a spiritual cause, Mr. Russell attributes this to human self-absorption. "Mind, or some aspect of it,—thought or will or sentience—has been regarded as the pattern after which the universe is to be conceived, for no better reason, at bottom, than that such a universe would not seem strange, and would give us the cosy feeling that every place is like home."[1] The universe without mind which accidentally and temporarily produces mind does indeed seem strange. As Mr. Russell says, it is "a strange mystery that Nature, omnipotent but blind, in the revolution of her secular hurryings through the abysses of space has brought forth at last a child, subject still to her power, but gifted with sight, with knowledge of good and evil, with the capacity of judging all the works of his unthinking Mother."[2] Mr. Russell is right in thinking that such a universe seems strange. But he is wrong in supposing that at bottom we reject such a view of the universe because it makes us uncomfortable. The offence is not so much to our desires as to reason. Such a universe is strange to the verge of irrationality: it is incredible *per se*.

In another paper, Mr. Russell recognises that the difficulty in accepting this view of the universe is intellectual rather than emotional. Men are prejudiced against the view by a traditional and mistaken notion of cause. It is commonly assumed that "cause and effect must more or less resemble each other." "It is still often thought, for example, that mind could not have grown up in a universe which previously contained nothing mental, and one ground for this belief is that matter is too dissimilar from mind to have been able to cause it. Or, more particularly, what are termed the nobler parts of our nature are supposed to be inexplicable, unless the universe always contained something at least equally noble which could cause them.

[1] *M.L.*, p. 44. [2] *M.L.*, p. 48.

All such views seem to depend upon assuming some underlying simplified law of causality : for in any legitimate sense of ' cause ' and ' effect ' science seems to show that they are usually very widely dissimilar, the ' cause ' being, in fact, two states of the whole universe, and the ' effect ' some particular event."[1] This criticism of the older notion of cause does not really get to the heart of the difficulty in believing that mind grew up in a world which previously contained nothing mental. The difficulty does not stand or fall with a general maxim about cause and effect resembling one another. It lies in the peculiar distinctness of mind and matter, which gives rise to popular dualism. In particular sequences in which we trace " cause " and " effect " in the narrower and illegitimate sense of the term, it may well be that science shows cause and effect to be widely dissimilar. But science shows no parallel to the disparity of cause and effect involved in supposing Man to be the product of causes which had no prevision of the end they were achieving, or in regarding his hopes and fears, his loves and beliefs, as but the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms. Not only are the nobler parts of our nature supposed to be inexplicable by less rigorous thinkers than Mr. Russell, but they remain, if not inexplicable, entirely unexplained in his philosophy. They are a complete mystery to himself. Though they are the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms, the hopes and fears, loves and beliefs throw no light on these collocations and must be rigidly excluded from our consideration if we wish to know the true nature of these atoms. It is illogical to insist that we cannot get at the true nature of the cause unless we ignore a considerable part of the effect. Yet this is involved in Mr. Russell's idea of a scientific philosophy. That Nature should give rise to our notion of good and evil, to our hopes and fears, and yet that

[1] *M.L.*, p. 189.

these notions, hopes and fears should be utterly alien from Nature, constitutes a staggering disjointedness of cause and effect.

It is difficult, and indeed impossible, to explain the gulf between man's emotional and ethical nature and the external world, if that external world be really the cause of his hopes and fears, loves and beliefs. For Mr. Russell denies that this causal relation involves an objectionable determinism. "It is often thought that if the state of the mind is determinate when the state of the brain is given, and if the material world forms a deterministic system, then mind is subject to matter in some sense in which matter is not 'subject' to mind." (Incidentally, this thought is the foundation-truth of Mr. Russell's pessimism.) "But if the state of the brain is also determinate when the state of the mind is given, it must be exactly as true to regard matter as subject to mind as it would be to regard mind as subject to matter. We could, theoretically, work out the history of mind without ever mentioning matter, and then, at the end, deduce that matter must meanwhile have gone through the corresponding history."[1] If this be so, why then does Mr. Russell insist that in the interests of truth and a strictly scientific philosophy we must give up supposing that the notions of good and evil afford a key to the understanding of the world? What is true theoretically of mind in general will be true of ethics in particular. If the causal relation between atoms and emotions really holds, our understanding of the world ought to afford a key to the understanding of our notions of good and evil, and *vice versa*. Theoretically, it should be a matter of indifference from which point the scientific philosopher starts. The gulf between Nature and our desires and value-judgments is either illusory, or those desires and value-judgments are something more than the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms.

[1] *M.L.*, p. 200.

In his foundation-truths as to man's origin, and as to the material basis of his emotional life, Mr. Russell is apparently working with the old idea of cause, the notion he abandons in his later paper. If Man is the product of blind causes, i.e. natural forces, the old notion is obviously assumed. And if the old notion is assumed, then the view that cause and effect must more or less resemble one another is a valid ground for rejecting the propositions in which it is involved. But if we accept the revised notion of causes which invalidates the earlier maxim, then the statements about man's origin and the mainspring of his life become indefensible. Once more, as with Hume, critical analysis reduces cause and effect to an observed uniformity of sequence. "Any case of sufficiently frequent sequence will be causal in our present sense: for example, we shall not refuse to say that night is the cause of day."[1] This is bold, and if we understand that the blind forces of nature produced man endowed with sight in the same way as night causes day, we might come to terms with Mr. Russell at once. To argue as Mr. Russell does, that there was nothing mental in the universe before the appearance of man is fairly parallel to arguing that since day is the product of powers of darkness we must accept the strange mystery that the sun did not exist before dawn. Mr. Russell argues to non-existence from invisibility. The argument is not valid. But of course the emergence of man in nature is not a uniformity of sequence which frequently occurs. The facts dealt with do not occur with sufficient frequence to constitute a normal case of cause and effect. These blind causes only had this effect once, though they exist constantly. Now, so far as our observation goes, life is only derived from life, conscious life only from conscious life. This is the observed uniformity of sequence which, however, we must believe

[1] *M.L.*, p. 193.

was once broken. The production of mind by not-mind was a unique historical event, not a uniformity of sequence such as is constantly observed and discovered in biology or physics. So that to explain this particular event we must clearly fall back on the broader idea of the cause and effect as two states of the whole universe. When we do this, can we seriously imagine that our particular sciences have given us exhaustive information as to the state of the whole universe antecedent to the birth of Man? How does Mr. Russell know that our own world was a practically isolated system, so far as this event was concerned? What right has the scientific philosopher to predicate of the whole universe that at one point in time it contained nothing mental? If we grant, as we obviously must, that man grew up in a natural environment to which he was intellectually superior, what ground have we for asserting either that this natural environment produced him or that there is nothing in the whole universe akin to himself? The probability is that the blind causes produced man in the sense in which Leslie Stephen used to say the public schools produced their famous sons. By "produced" we should understand "failed to suppress." The proposition that mind grew up in a universe which previously contained nothing mental, is not only not proved: it is intrinsically improbable and, I should say, incapable of proof. To say that mind grew up in a natural order which apparently contained nothing mental is a bare statement of probable fact. To speak of this natural order as the blind cause of mind is nothing but a crude instance of the fallacy *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc.*

It is a little surprising that Mr. Russell should speak of men's hopes and fears as simply or exclusively the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms, because he has a good deal to say of the plurality of causes, and of

the difficulty of exhausting the many causal series which may be involved in a given event. He quotes in illustration a letter from a correspondent who had been puzzled by various philosophical questions. " After enumerating them he says : ' These questions led me from Bonn to Strassburg, where I found Professor Simmel.' Now it would be absurd to deny that these questions caused his body to move from Bonn to Strassburg and yet it must be supposed that a set of purely mechanical antecedents could also be found which would account for this transfer of matter from one place to another. Owing to this plurality of causal series antecedent to a given event, the notion of *the* cause becomes indefinite, and the question of independence becomes correspondingly ambiguous."[1] But in asserting that men's hopes and fears, etc., are but the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms, the notion of *the* cause is by no means indefinite. Yet is it proved or probable that we have not in this realm to reckon with a plurality of causal series, and to decline this facile account of *the* cause ?

Is there any evidence that the facts disclosed in the natural sciences do not give a complete account of man's origin and growth ? The mere fact that we are not at home in our world, that we entertain the dissatisfaction which Mr. Russell so wonderfully interprets, is, I maintain, clear proof that the account of our origin which he accepts is defective and irrational. But apart from this negative questioning, there is the positive evidence of a higher source for the nobler parts of man's nature to be found in the long history of religious aspiration, poetic insight, and artistic achievement. All this Mr. Russell sets aside, as pure subjectivity. He distrusts it all, because it may prove to be self-deception and self-flattery. At the same time, in the essay on mysticism and logic, he disclaims his right to reject this body of

[1] *M.L.*, p. 122.

evidence. "Of the reality or unreality of the mystic's world I know nothing. I have no wish to deny it, nor even to declare that the insight which reveals it is not a genuine insight."[1] Yet the attitude towards life developed in the free man's worship involves the denial of the reality of the mystic's world and assumes his insight to be spurious. In discussing Mysticism, Mr. Russell does not so decisively reject intuition as he previously did in the free man's worship. He devotes a section to reason and intuition, in which he deals with Bergson's attempt to exalt intuition at the expense of reason. He urges with justice that we cannot make intuition independent of reason. "Insight, untested and unsupported, is an insufficient guarantee of truth, in spite of the fact that much of the most important truth is first suggested by its means."[2] At this stage, Mr. Russell is splendidly judicious and impartial. "The opposition of instinct and reason is mainly illusory. Instinct, intuition or insight is what first leads to the beliefs which subsequent reason confirms or confutes. . . . Reason is a harmonising, controlling force rather than a creative one. Even in the most purely logical realm, it is insight which first arrives at what is new."[3] But evidently as his discussion proceeds, he feels he has conceded too much to intuition. Its place is really in practical affairs, not in the theoretical understanding of the world. "Where instinct is least liable to error is in practical matters as to which right judgment is a help to survival."[4] "Intuition is seen at its best where it is directly useful, for example in regard to other people's characters and dispositions."[5] Later on, Mr. Russell, arguing against Bergson's claim that "intuition has the power of apprehending the uniqueness and novelty that always belong to each fresh moment,"[6] urges that the knowledge of

[1] *M.L.*, p. 12.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *M.L.*, p. 13. [4] *Ibid.* [5] p. 15. [6] p. 16.

what is unique and new comes through sensation,[1] and that "where the data are new in any remarkable manner, intellect is much more capable of dealing with them than intuition would be."[2] He has apparently forgotten that a page or two previously he has told us that "even in the most purely logical realm, it is insight which first arrives at what is new" and that "instinct, intuition or insight is what first leads to the beliefs which subsequent reason confirms or confutes." But in the latter end it seems that intuition, being an aspect of instinct, is only of use in dealing with the practical and the customary, with the older kinds of activity which bring out our kinship with remote generations of animal and semi-human ancestors. Philosophy is an unpractical, highly refined and highly civilised pursuit, whereas civilisation is adverse to intuition.[3] So in philosophy, intellect will be at its best, and intuition at its worst. Intuition is dismissed from the place of leadership which Mr. Russell at first assigned to it.

The most provocative passage in this discussion of intuition is the following. "Intuition . . . seems on the whole to diminish as civilisation increases. It is greater, as a rule, in children than in adults, in the uneducated than in the educated. Probably in dogs it exceeds anything to be found in human beings. But those who see in these facts a recommendation of intuition ought to return to running wild in the woods, dyeing themselves with woad and living on hips and haws."[4] When Mr. Russell is most sarcastic, his reasoning is apt to be least sound. No one who believes in the import-

[1] Why Mr. Russell uses the word "sensation" here is hard to understand. If he means by "sensation" something purely physical, the assertion he makes is untrue. If he means something more than sense perception, it will be the same as "intellectual sympathy" or "intuition." He dissents from Bergson only in using a poorer word for the same thing.

[2] p. 17. [3] p. 18. [4] p. 15.

ance of intuition for our understanding of the world will hesitate to accept this challenge. Has he forgotten Wordsworth's sonnet and the lines,

> Great God! I'd rather be
> A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn,
> So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
> Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn?

Does Mr. Russell deny that civilisation itself is accompanied by loss? In another connexion, he tells us, "Not only is artistic achievement not cumulative, but it seems even to depend upon a certain freshness and naïveté of impulse and vision which civilisation tends to destroy."[1] Is it not more than likely that this freshness and naïveté of impulse and vision is essential not only to artistic achievment, but also to getting at the truth about the world and our relation to it? May not the loss of the sense of kinship with Nature, which makes us so forlorn, impair also our theoretical understanding of the world? For it is quite possible that the most important truths about the world can only be discovered by the intellectual sympathy, the intuitive judgment which we exercise in our dealings with one another. If, for instance, there is a God, and if He happens to love us, the facts would be read by intuition while they remained obscure to the mathematically trained mind. If civilisation and education necessarily impair our powers of intuition, then it might conceivably be better to return to the savage state, woad and all, to regain what we have lost. But civilisation and education are not really past improvement. Mr. Russell advocates reforms which seek to restore freshness of impulse and vision, and I imagine he thinks it just possible that such a restoration would serve truth as well as liberty.

Though Mr. Russell's second thoughts about intuition are unjustifiably depreciatory, yet in another section of the same

[1] *M.L.*, p. 43.

essay on Mysticism he makes what is really a great advance on the Free Man's Worship. In discussing Time, he says, "A truer image of the world, I think, is obtained by picturing things as entering into the stream of time from an external world outside, than from a view which regards time as the devouring tyrant of all that is. Both in thought and in feeling, even though time be real, to realise the unimportance of time is the gate of wisdom."[1] The free man, in seeking a basis for the worship of his ideals, is unaware of this truer image. He is oppressed with the thought of time as the devouring tyrant of all that is. He has not found the gate of wisdom.

The pessimism of the Free Man's Worship is then logically inconsistent with Mr. Russell's ideal of a scientific philosophy, with his views on the notion of cause, and with his attitude towards mysticism. It does not harmonise with the more permanent elements of his thought. It is the expression of a mood rather than an attempt to see life steadily and see it whole. In so far as this mood is widely and frequently felt to day, it is due not to necessary inference from scientifically established truth, but to the one-sided development of human life and character in the present phase of civilisation. It is due in part also to over-specialisation in scientific studies. In the case of Mr. Russell, a further underlying cause may be suspected in a morbid fear of being duped by his hopes.

HERBERT G. WOOD.

[1] p. 21.

JESUS AND THE EXODUS.

THE textual critic of the New Testament is aware of a curious variant in the Epistle of Jude, which appears to refer the miraculous deliverance of the people of God from the land of Egypt to the Jesus of History, or, if we prefer to put it so, to the Second Person of the Trinity. The writer has been attacking an obscure group of heretics who have turned to impious ways, and have denied our only Master (δεσπότης) and Lord, Jesus Christ. He proceeds to warn those to whom he writes that, although Jesus had saved the people out of the land of Egypt, yet afterwards he destroyed those of them who did not believe or who did not remain loyal.

The traditional text has evaded the difficulty of reading Jesus into the story of the Exodus, where He ordinarily appears only in symbol as Christ our Passover, Christ our Paschal Lamb, and has given us instead the somewhat colourless phrase :

"*The Lord* (κύριος) who had saved the People (*or* a people), etc."

The text of the Epistle of Jude is often difficult and obscure, but in the present case there is such good support, both from external and internal evidence, for reading *Jesus* that it is not surprising that it found its way into the margin of the revised New Testament : for, it will be said, here if anywhere the harder reading, if well attested, has the right of way. We agree that, if a reasonable meaning can be given to the reading, which seems at first to be the more difficult, we ought to try and edit it. This does not mean the general acceptance of the "canon of the harder reading," in whose name many textual atrocities have been perpetrated in modern times. All canons

of criticism are mere approximations, and need to be used as good servants which make bad masters. In the present case we may evade the authority of the canon, and of the mechanical critic behind it, by asking the question whether, after all, it is so much harder to read "Jesus" than to read "the Lord," especially when in the previous verse (ver. 4) Jesus Christ has been declared to be the only Master and Lord? Are we necessarily alien to the thought of primitive or Palestinian Christianity when we read "Jesus" into the events of the history of Israel? Is it not one of the firstfruits of primitive exegesis to find Christ in the Old Testament, and to demonstrate His pre-existence, authority and miraculous power by means of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms? Take, for instance, the *Testimony Book*, which we may regard as the first handbook of Palestinian Theology, and notice how Christ is spoken of as the Angel of the Old Covenant, and how He is especially declared to be both *God and Lord*, the proofs being, of necessity, anti-Judaic, and consequently made from the Old Testament. If, however, Christ is identified with the *Angel of the Covenant* in the Pentateuch, or with the *Angel of the Great Counsel* in Isaiah, as may easily be seen to be the case, then this Redeeming Angel is the explanation for the statement that Jesus saved the people from the land of Egypt, and that Jesus afterwards destroyed the unbelievers. We may add a liturgical parallel from a sixth century papyrus (Pap. Gr. 7) in the Rylands Library: "Lo! the Virgin has borne Emmanuel: He came down from heaven, and saved from the land of Egypt the people that were astray."

Assuming that we have correctly read and rightly interpreted the passage, we may now go on to interpret a second passage, where it is not a question of text, but only one of translation.

In Hebrews iv. 8, we have in the Authorised Version the statement that "if Jesus had given them rest, he would not afterwards (i.e. by David) have spoken of another day." Here the Revised Version has replaced "Jesus" by "Joshua," and added an explanatory note that in Greek the word is Jesus. In Tyndale's translation, in the Bishop's Bible and the Geneva version, the text says Josue. Probably there is no correction made in the translation of Hebrews that has met with greater acceptance, for there could be no doubt that "Jesus" is the equivalent of "Joshua" in the Septuagint translation (which appears, as we have said, in most of the great versions), and the sense appears to be cleared by restoring the Hebrew equivalent of the leader who brought the people into the Land of Promise. It would be easy to show how the early Christians were keen to recognise the name of their Lord in the Jesus of the Old Testament, whether it were in Jesus the son of Nun, or in Jesus the son of Josedech the high priest: and they were, at least philologically, correct in their identification.

It is, however, open to grave doubt whether the correction was necessary, in view of what we have already brought to light as to the Leadership of the People of God by Jesus, the Covenant Angel, in the wilderness. The emended rendering lays the emphasis on the proper name,

"If *Joshua* had given them rest";

but in the Greek text, the emphasis is laid on the Jews who disbelieved and disobeyed, by placing the object at the beginning of the sentence,

"If it was to *them* that Joshua gave rest, etc.,"

where perhaps it will be said that, in that case you ought to have ἐκείνους as in verse 2, and not αὐτούς.

Our point is, that it was Jesus that did not give the promised rest to the Jews ("If they shall enter into my

rest "), and it is Jesus who promises to give it, and gives it to the people of God.

The context in Hebrews, moreover, is distinctly anti-Judaic, and this makes for our interpretation ; it takes us at once to the *Testimony Book*, one of whose sections was devoted to the proof that the Jews had fallen out of favour with God. When we find the writer arguing that God had been wroth with them for forty years, and that their limbs fell (i.e. were scattered) in the wilderness, this is a parallel to the statement in 1 Corinthians x. 5, that " God was not pleased with most of them, for they were scattered abroad in the wilderness " : and in this passage the statement is preceded by the identification that Christ, the spiritual rock, was with the people in their journeyings.

Thus all roads of inquiry lead to the *Testimony Book* and to Christ, and we should therefore infer that it was Jesus who gives the Rest to believers, and who does not give it to unbelieving Jews.

If the objection be made that in the Book of Joshua (xxii. 4), we have an express statement by the people's leader that they had attained the Rest, and that this must be the passage referred to by the writer to the Hebrews, we find on referring to the passage that Joshua does not speak of himself as the author of the rest, even in a secondary sense, but says that " The Lord your God hath given you rest." And we conclude that the original translation was the correct one, and that it does not even require an explanatory note, as in the later Genevan versions, which add the remark " meaning Joshua " to a text where they had restored " Jesus." Perhaps the best translation would be, " If Joshua-Jesus had given them rest."

In any case we have to think ourselves back into a time when the two names were equivalent and there is reason, moreover, to which we now proceed, for believing that by

restoring the meaning Jesus, we shall make the epistle to the Hebrews translucent to an extraordinary degree.

We shall see that Jesus and not Joshua is required for the understanding of the passages which follow: we are told (*a*) that the Logos is sharper than a two-edged sword or knife (*μαχαίρας δισστόμου*): (*b*) that we have a great High Priest.

If we keep in mind what has been said above, as to the identification which the early Christian made of Jesus with Joshua, we shall see the thread of the discourse in the Epistle. In Joshua v. 2 a command is given to make *μαχαίρας πετρίνας ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου*, and this gives occasion for Justin in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (c. 113 ff.) to discourse at length on Jesus and the New Circumcision. That is the key to the introduction of the sharp-cutting Logos in Hebrews. It is Joshua-Jesus who is the Circumciser. The process of inspection by the Logos is not (as commonly expounded) the examination of victims for sacrifice, it is the new circumcision *of the heart*, the thoughts and intents of the heart. So in the *Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus* (p. 62) Athanasius says the *μαχαίραι* were of stone, because "the stone is Christ." The sharp instrument of circumcision is the Logos.

But this Joshua with the sharp knives suggests to us the figure of another Joshua, the son of Josedech, in Haggai and Zechariah. This Joshua is the *high priest*. Thus the whole of the argument is linked up. The confirmation of this will be found in the anti-Judaic writers and their testimonies. For example, Justin, in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, has much to say of the similitude of Christ furnished by Joshua and the High Priest: let us see how he expresses himself: he begins (*Dial.* c. 115) by saying to Trypho that "you ought to believe Zechariah when he shows you in a figure the mystery of Christ, and secretly proclaims

Him." Then he proceeds to quote the prophet, and comes presently to the verse, "And he showed me Joshua (Jesus) the *great* high priest, standing before the angel of the Lord." Here we have the prefixed adjective "great" as it occurs in Hebrews: it is not a part of the Biblical text, but was, apparently, part of the passage as quoted in *Testimony*. The coincidence is important and should be noticed. That it stood so in the *Testimony Book* may be inferred from Greg. Nyss. *Testimonies* (c. 2, p. 296), where the very same addition is made. "The Lord showed me Jesus, the *great High Priest*, standing, etc.," and again, "Listen now, Jesus the *great High Priest*." So in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, p. 73, we have the same expansion.

And as Justin had already in his discourse on the meaning of the name Ἰησοῦς explained how one who was named Jesus divided the land by lot to the people who entered with him, and another of the same name will gather together the remnant of Israel, and divide the good land to each for an eternal possession, it is clear that the sequence in Justin explains the sequence in Hebrews, and each writer depends ultimately on the *Testimony Book*.

Thus we have in each case,

Jesus the Guide to the Land of Rest;
Jesus the new Circumciser;
Jesus the great High-Priest.

Here are some further proofs that these things belong to the *Testimony Book*.

In Cyprian i. 8, Quod circumcisio prima carnalis evacuata sit et secunda spiritalis repromissa est. . . . Item apud Jesum Nave: et dixit Dominus ad Jesum: fac tibi cultellos petrinos nimis acutos et adside et circumcide secundo filios Israel.

The story in Joshua is explained to mean the new spiritual circumcision.

Now let us see how Aphrahat, the Syrian father, will handle this testimony; for he has a whole book on circumcision. He tells us that "Jesus the son of Nun circumcised the people a second time with a scimitar of stone when he crossed over Jordan with his people. Jesus our Saviour circumcised a second time, with the circumcision of the heart, the peoples who had been baptized by baptism, and they were circumcised *with the scimitar which is sharper than a sword with two edges.*"

Here Aphrahat has seen the connexion between the proof text for the New Circumcision, and the language of the epistle to the Hebrews. He then goes on:

"Jesus the son of Nun took the people across into the Land of Promise: Jesus our Saviour has promised the Land of Life to all who have crossed the true Jordan, and have believed and have been circumcised with the circumcision of the heart."

We have again the connexion made for us between the two subjects in Hebrews iv., the Jesus who gives the entrance into Rest, and the Logos who cuts and explores the intents of the heart. By the help of Justin we were able to see the source of the "*great high priest*" in Hebrews iv. 14, it was clearly derived from Jesus the son of Josedech through the *Testimony Book*. But this helps us at once to see the origin of the famous chapter on Melchisedek in Hebrews: for the doctrine that Christ was the great High Priest was in the *Testimony Book*: Cyprian has it under the heading,—"That the ancient priesthood should cease, and a *new high-priest* should come who should be *for ever.*"

The heading tells us plainly what to expect; the proof begins with Psalm cix. (cx.). . . . "Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchisedek." Now let us see how Justin expounds the famous passage. He complains that the Jews try to transfer it to Hezekiah; but Hezekiah was

neither a priest nor a priest for ever. The very language shows it was spoken of Jesus. Then he turns to the Jewish audience and says: "Your ears are closed up and your hearts are blinded" (*Dial.* c. 32). But this is involved in Hebrews v. 11, where the writer says that the subject of Melchisedek is very long and obscure, and "you have become *slow of hearing*." Justin was quoting from Isaiah vi. 10, and it was a Testimony used anti-Judaically. So we explain the language of Hebrews in the same way. It is meant to be anti-Judaic. It need not refer to any special weakness of any Church addressed in the epistle: it is almost conventional, and means what the *Testimony Book* roundly affirms, that the Jews cannot understand the Scriptures, however much they read them, for "Israel doth not know." It might equally be said that the Christian cannot understand the Epistle to the Hebrews, nor the New Testament generally, unless they see the underlying document which almost all the writers employ. For everything in these matters depends on being in the line of sight. The identification of the historical Jesus with Old Testament situations appears to have been a commonplace with a school of primitive exegetes. For instance, there is a famous passage from Melito preserved in the Syriac [1] where that father says he has made collections (ἐκλογαί) from the Law and the Prophets (the terms are proper to describe a Book of Testimonies), with the object of showing that our Lord Jesus Christ was "Creator together with the Father; was the Fashioner of man . . . that he was Pilot to Noah . . . was sold with Joseph, was Captain with Moses, was *the divider of the inheritance with Jesus the son of Nun* . . ." and Melito goes on to describe New Testament events, such as the Virgin Birth, the Adoration of the Magi, etc., thus showing conclusively that he means the

[1] Cureton: *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 53.

same person both in the Old Testament and in the New Testament. The reference to the division of the lands by one Jesus with the aid and oversight of the other, is an argument for leaving the name of Jesus standing in Hebrews iv. or at least for reading Joshua-Jesus, and not merely Joshua.

RENDEL HARRIS.

JESUS' THOUGHT OF HIS DEATH.

THERE are a number of passages in the Gospels from which it is generally supposed that Jesus knew or believed that death for Him would be a matter of only a few hours, and that after two or three days at most His body would return to life much as if nothing had happened. Such passages are those sayings in which Jesus apparently foretold that He would in the end be put to death by His enemies, but that He would "be raised again the third day" (Matt. xvi. 21; xxvii. 23; xx. 19; Mark viii. 31; ix. 31; x. 34; Luke ix. 22; xviii. 33; xxiv. 7; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 4). There are slight variations in the form of the saying. The verb is sometimes "be raised," or rather "be awaked" (ἐγείρω) and sometimes simply "rise" (ἀνίστημι), and for "the third day" the oldest uncials have always in Mark "after three days." The prediction was evidently one to which Jesus gave frequent utterance, and it may well have assumed various forms. The extraordinary thing about it is that, however often it may have been repeated, it seems to have left no impression whatever on the minds of even His most intimate disciples. If it had, many incidents in the subsequent history would be quite inexplicable. And yet that it should have passed unnoticed seems incredible. The difficulties are so great that even comparatively orthodox theologians of the old school were sometimes forced to be-

lieve that this saying was never uttered by Jesus at all: that it was in fact a *vaticinium post eventum.*

"With so clear and distinct a prediction of the resurrection, it is impossible to reconcile the fact that, utterly disheartened by the death of their Lord, the disciples should have had no expectation whatever that He would come to life again, that they consequently embalmed the body, and that even on the Sunday morning the women wanted to anoint it; that they should have placed a heavy stone at the mouth of the grave, and afterwards are utterly at a loss to account for the empty sepulchre, and treat the statement that He had risen and appeared again as simply incredible, some of them even doubting His identity when they *do* see Him; and further, that the risen Jesus appeals, indeed, to an Old Testament prediction (Luke xxiv. 25), but not to His own; just as John, in like manner, accounts for Peter and himself not believing in the resurrection till they had actually seen the empty grave, merely from their having hitherto failed to understand the scripture (John xx. 9). . . . We must therefore suppose that Jesus had made certain dark, indefinite allusions to His resurrection,[1] . . . and that it was only *ex eventu* that they assumed, in the course of tradition, the clear and definite form of a prediction such as is now before us." [2]

But if the behaviour of the disciples in view of this explicit warning is unaccountable, still more so is that of Jesus Himself. His whole attitude during the last few days of His life is that of one who is bidding good-bye to this world for ever. His farewell discourse with His beloved disciples recorded in the fourth Gospel is the counterpart

[1] [Referring to such expressions as "the temple of the body," John ii. 21 f.]

[2] Meyer's *Commentary on the New Testament*, edited in English by W. P. Dickson and F. Crombie: "Gospel of Matthew," translated by P. Christie: Edinburgh, 1877.

of the *Crito* among the dialogues of Plato. Both embody the last words of a Master to his friends whom he does not hope to see again in this world; but in the mouth of one who expected to meet those whom he addressed again within three or four days, both would be equally meaningless. And perhaps most strange of all would be the deep anguish of mind, in such strong contrast to the unruffled serenity of Socrates, with which Jesus was overwhelmed at the near prospect of death. If Jesus knew, or even felt convinced, that within a few hours He would escape for ever from the power of death, then all that is recorded in the Gospels of His last days has no meaning for us.

What then are we to make of this saying about rising again after three days? The answer seems to lie in the fact, so often forgotten or ignored by scholars, that the language of the Hebrews was, like the language of the Celts, the language of poetry and not of prose. The whole of the recent criticism both of the New and still more of the Old Testament is based on the opposite assumption. But if, when Jesus said that He would rise on the third day, He did not mean that He would literally rise on the third day, what then did He mean? The answer is that He meant exactly what the people of Israel meant when they said: "Come, and let us return unto the Lord. . . . After two days He will revive us; in the third day He will raise us up" (Hos. vi. 2), or what He Himself meant when He said long before His death: "I do cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I make an end" (Luke xiii. 32).

We are all so familiar with the metaphorical use of the words "to-day," "yesterday," and "to-morrow" for the prosaic "present," "past," and "future," that we are not even conscious that we are employing a trope at all. The metaphor is not a Hebraism in English, and would be natural in all languages, and is probably common to all and,

in fact, as widespread as the human race. The Hebrew language, however, is notable in this, that it has also a name for "the day before yesterday" (*shilshōm*), which is always used in a metaphorical sense. Thus in the Authorised English version the expressions "before" (Gen. xxxi. 2, 5), "heretofore" (Exod. iv. 10, etc.), "in time past" (Exod. xxi. 29, 36), "before that time" (1 Sam. xiv. 21), "in times past" (2 Sam. iii. 17), and "beforetime" (2 Kings xiii. 5), are all renderings of the same Hebrew phrase, which means literally, as is noted in the Authorised margin, "yesterday and the day before yesterday." Only in one place is the word for "the day before yesterday" used in its strict literal sense, namely in 1 Sam. xxi. 6 (A.V. 5), where alone the English version has "these three days." Even here, however, it may be doubted whether exactly three days be meant. The Greek translators regularly render the Hebrew phrase "yesterday and the day before" literally ἐχθὲς καὶ τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν. Just as the expression for "the day before yesterday," so the Hebrew words denoting "the third generation" and "the fourth generation" are to be taken in a loose rather than in their exact sense, for example, Exodus xx. 5.

There is no word in Hebrew for "the day after tomorrow" (1 Sam. xx. 5, 12 contain a textual error apparently). One must say "the third day." The phrase is in the Old Testament usually employed in its mathematical sense (Gen. i. 13, etc.), but sometimes for what we would call the fourth day (Esther v. 1, etc.), and also figuratively (Hos. vi. 2; 2 Kings xx. 5, 8 ?). That is to say, in Hebrew, "the second day," "the third day," "the day after tomorrow," "after three days," and "the fourth day," are all the same thing. And not only so, but the same expression is used to denote "the indefinite future."

When, therefore, Jesus said to His disciples that "on the

third day" he would rise again, it is not to be supposed that He meant the words to be taken in their literal sense. The disciples at any rate did not so understand them. They were, however, so understood by the chief priests and Pharisees, who give this as their reason for asking Pilate to have the sepulchre watched until the third day (Matt. xxvii. 63, 64).

We find a precisely parallel instance of confusion arising from this double use of numbers, in a qualificative as well as in a quantitative sense, in the story of Samuel and Saul, in regard to the number "seven." In 1 Samuel x. 8, Samuel bids Saul tarry for him seven days at Gilgal, whither he will come and sacrifice. Saul waits the seven days, but when Samuel does not arrive, he himself on the eighth day sacrifices. When Samuel does come almost immediately, he is vexed with Saul and upbraids him with what he has done. To the Western reader it is not obvious what Saul *has* done wrong, but the author of the narrative evidently sees no difficulty. The explanation is that the number seven stands for infinity; and when Samuel bade Saul wait seven days he said in effect, "Wait till I come."

An exactly similar misunderstanding is found in the Gospels. Peter had apparently been bidden to forgive his offending brother "seven times," and was inclined to keep to that figure; but is warned that "seven" means "seventy times seven," that is, infinity (Luke xvii. 4; Matt. xviii. 21, 22). And similarly, when Jesus spoke of rising again "after three days" He probably meant "after an indefinite time." If this be granted, then the gospel narrative of what happened immediately before and immediately after the crucifixion becomes quite plain and natural. But if the three days were meant and were taken literally, then the behaviour both of Jesus and of His disciples is incomprehensible.

But, it will be asked, Would Jesus be likely to make use of language so misleading? The reply is that one of the most striking features about the dialogues and discourses of Jesus is His fondness for words and phrases which not only might be, but were certain to be, misunderstood by those who heard them. He liked to employ a word in two different senses in the same sentence, or even in two different senses at the same time. Such amphibology is especially common in the fourth Gospel, but it is found also in the first three. Thus, in the epigrammatic "Let the dead bury their dead" (Matt. viii. 29), the first "dead" is used in a spiritual, the latter in its natural sense. When He told Martha that "one thing is needful," He meant both "one dish" and also "the good part" (Luke x. 42). When He bade the disciples beware of the "leaven of the Pharisees" (Matt. xvi. 11; Mark viii. 18; Luke xii. 1), or told them that He had "meat" to eat that they did not know about (John iv. 32), it was natural that they should not take His meaning. And still more excusable was the Samaritan woman to whom He spoke of "living water" (iv. 10). On occasion this artifice was employed deliberately to mislead His hearers. When in a dialogue about the temple of Herod He concluded with the words "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up" (John ii. 19; cf. Matt. xxvi. 61; xxvii. 40; Mark xiv. 58; xv. 29), His hearers naturally misunderstood, and were meant to misunderstand, His words. The evangelist thinks it not unnecessary to warn his readers also of the sense in which the words *were* used. As a last example, we may take from the same Gospel (John xii. 32): "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me." The author says that this was a reference to the crucifixion. But in Hebrew, as in other languages, the verb "to lift up" also means "to take away," and the people understood the word in the latter sense. The

Authorised English version here, for once, misses the point. There was nothing surprising in Messias being "lifted up," but what the people could *not* understand was, how He, who the Law said "abideth for ever," could be *taken away*. "We have heard out of the law that Christ abideth for ever; and how sayest thou, The Son of man must be taken away?" An exact parallel is Daniel viii. 11: "By him the daily sacrifice was taken away," where the verb translated "taken away" more usually means "to lift up." This time the people would seem to have been right. Such instances as these show that there is no difficulty in supposing that Jesus could make use of words and phrases which were capable of more than one interpretation, and, in fact, that it was His common practice to do so.

But if, in the sayings quoted at the beginning of this paper, the phrase "on the third day" or "after three days" was not intended in its most obvious sense, so also the words "rise" or "be raised" may have been intended in a spiritual rather than a physical sense. We know that Jesus held the doctrine of the resurrection in a very different way from that in which the Pharisees held and the Sadducees understood it (Matt. xxii. 23 ff.; Mark xii. 18 ff.; Luke xx. 27), or even His own disciples (John xi. 24, 25); but He did believe in the resurrection of the body, or of *a* body; for there is no evidence that Jesus ever thought of the dead rising from their graves in the very literal way in which His followers may have done. But when He spoke of "rising again," He may have been thinking of something quite apart from the Pharisaic doctrine of the resurrection. Jesus' mind, like that of another son of Abraham in much later days, was deeply impressed by the fact that every prophet who had come to his people had been persecuted and ill used in his lifetime and glorified after his death. One generation had slain the prophets and the next had erected

monuments to their memory (Matt. xxiii. 37; Luke xiii. 34; xi. 47, 48; Matt. xxiii. 29). It may well be that, when Jesus spoke of rising from the dead, He may have meant no more than this, that what had befallen all those who had gone before Him would be His fate also. And when the unexpected happened, it was no difficult matter to recall sayings which seemed now to be clear predictions of the event, although, until things had turned out as they did, none of the disciples had dreamed of putting any such interpretation upon them. Even such (to us) hyperbolical terms as "coming in the clouds of heaven" (Matt. xxiv. 30; xxvi. 64; Mark xiii. 20; xiv. 62) may have been nothing more than a highly coloured Eastern way of describing that posthumous fame which is the allotted portion of every prophet.

When the Genevan patriot Philibert Berthelier was arrested and imprisoned by the bishop and the duke of Savoy, he amused himself and perhaps annoyed his guards by playing with a pet weasel which he carried everywhere in his bosom. Being advised to make his peace with the duke, and warned that, if he did not do so, he would certainly pay the penalty with his life, he made no reply, but wrote on the wall *Non moriar sed vivam et narrabo opera Domini*. Had these words come true, they would no doubt have been regarded by all his friends as a prediction, in a sense which Berthelier never intended, for they were written under a very deep presage of death. As events turned out they were a prophecy which was fulfilled in a far higher sense, and that was the sense in which the writer intended them.

The foregoing reflections are not concerned with the Resurrection, either as a doctrine of the Christian Church, or as a fact of history. The one fact about which there seems to be no doubt is, that, in the discourses and sayings

of Jesus which have come down to us, there is nothing that need lead us to imagine that Jesus Himself had any conception that He would remain under the power of death for a few hours at most. The only sentences which might lead us to think so—those in which reference is made to rising again after three days or on the third day—are capable of a very different interpretation. The meaning which has been given to them by the Church must often have caused an uneasy feeling to pass over the mind of the Christian, that the sufferings and despair and death of Jesus had in them an element of unreality. In what sense can one who knew that he would revive in a few days be said to have tasted of death at all? Does not the bitterness of death consist just in this, that we are leaving this world for ever and that we do not know what shall be after? The whole narrative of the last days of Jesus on earth show that to Him also death was the king of terrors in just as real a sense as he is to every son of man. It is only the few who can see the approach of death with the unconcern of the Athenian philosopher or the gaiety of the Genevan patriot. And it is just because it came to Jesus as it always has come and always will come to the common man, at all events when it comes prematurely or in violence, as it has done to so many, most of them little more than boys, in the last few years, that He can truly be said to have tasted death for all.

T. H. Weir.

THE PROPHETS AND THE WORLD-ORDER.

By the prophets I mean the pre-exilic prophets. The men who came after the exile have an interest of their own, but in this connexion they work with inherited ideas which they do their best to adapt and apply to the new conditions. The early prophets are seeking to frame their ideas, face to face with the grim facts.

And by the world-order I do not mean the universe at large, but specifically the trouble which pressed upon the minds of the prophets, because the world of their time seemed to be delivered over to the rule of the strongest. Because the prophet lived in communion with a righteous God, such a condition of things appeared to him no order at all, but moral chaos. The pressure of the question may have come with a sharper force on the minds of some among the prophets, because at one time it seemed sure that the rule of the strongest was to obliterate Israel, their native land, from the face of the earth : and one might be inclined to conclude that it was this question, and only this question, of the continued existence of Israel which roused the prophets to action. But that it was not the peril to Israel as Israel which roused them first, nor the peril to Israel merely as the land they loved and honoured which interested them most deeply at any time, is patent from the simple fact that the first prophet, and the one who presented the question in its most uncompromising form, lived at a period when there was no real danger to Israel's continued existence or even to her outward power. Hence it is a legitimate

conclusion that, when Assyria and Babylon arose as a threat to Israel, it was not Assyria or Babylon as a danger to his nation which the prophet hated or feared. It was rather Assyria or Babylon, as an incarnation of brute force, and as symbolising the victory of force in the world; the victory of such a nation appeared to the prophet no world-order, but moral chaos.

I have said that the first who posited the question in its most uncompromising form lived in a period when there was no threat from the outside world to the continued existence or independence of Israel. Hence Amos never speaks of Assyria as threatening Israel: indeed he never speaks of Assyria at all. The country does not come into his purview, though he has something to say about a number of the nations round about Israel. These nations he selects as representative of the world of his time, and after his review of their state he closes with a review of his own people. That is to say, what he speaks about is the condition of the world of his time outside and inside Israel.

Outside Israel what he lets us see is the little Semitic world in which he is called to live. There the petty kingdoms make war on each other with the ferocity of wolves, and with no real result except that one wolf pack grows for a time strong enough to be master. There is no loyalty on the part of a man or a nation to its word: they break the brotherly covenant. There is no check exercised by common pity: they disembowel pregnant women and wreak their vengeance on the dead. Every restraint or support derived from humanity is gone: men are delivered over to the sway of brute force.

Inside Israel he sees the same thing repeated under the forms of peace. The nation is apparently at peace with its neighbours, but this has not brought with it any inward quiet. The strong hold sway over the weak, and exercise

it without ruth. They are restrained by no law in doing what their power enables them to do. Neither the law of their own state, nor the inward law of that sense of being linked together in a common task, without which every law which is set down on a statute-book remains an empty form, has any control over them. Men prey upon each other, exploiting another's weakness. And, while they all in words acknowledge the same God, they believe that such deeds do not matter, for, with the blood of the innocent wet on their garments, they go on pilgrimage to the altars of God and do not find it impossible to pray.

It is not necessary diligently to ask whether this is a just picture of the conditions of the world or of Israel in Amos' time. We have no external information, by which it might be possible to check his judgment : and we may, if we choose, count it probable, that he exaggerated the situation. What matters for the present purpose is, not whether he gauged the condition of affairs rightly or wrongly, but that, seeing the condition as he saw it, he pronounced it a moral chaos. Men were living together like wild beasts in a cave. It made no difference, or at least no apparent difference, whether they formally acknowledged the existence of God or not. They have made human society, that frail shelter which humanity builds so painfully and uncertainly as its home in an indifferent universe, impossible. The very cement which holds a society together is gone, for men are unable to trust each other.

To the men of his time the prophet said : there is a real order, the will of the eternal God, who made us all, Israelites and heathen alike. The foundations of this world are laid in a law, which one nation may have had special means of learning and special opportunities for rejoicing in, but which is capable of being recognised by all, so soon as it is clearly declared. It is not the creation of one people, but inter-

national, because its sanctions are derived from the will of that God whose immitigable purpose controls and sustains the whole world, making it a cosmos instead of a chaos. Maranatha, said Amos, the Lord is at hand. Yahweh is about to intervene in order to make His purpose manifest and His end valid. The prophet is not thinking of this intervention as about to be carried out by Assyria or any other instrument. In truth he is beyond the thought of any instrument: his thought runs on a plane where such ideas are insignificant and out of place. What he insists upon is that this is about to come from Yahweh, because to him it is the emergence in the world of God's spiritual purpose for His world. The thought is along the line of what we are in the habit of calling apocalyptic. Unfortunately the use of such a term is apt to confuse the issues, so inveterate is the custom of thinking that, because we have found a label, we understand the thing on which it has been stuck. Besides, most men, when they hear the word apocalyptic, think at once that it implies a transcendent God. Now nothing can be further from the idea of the divine transcendence than this view of a God whose day may dawn to-morrow. To Amos the underlying purpose of God, which alone sustains all things and alone can produce an order which is at once beautiful and sure, is about to manifest itself on this side of time.

Because it is the irresistible purpose of God, and because the world, as Amos saw it, was a complete contradiction of everything for which God's righteous purpose stands, its emergence in its day implies primarily judgment. The judgment must begin in Israel, since there the denial of its principles is most flagrant, because most conscious: but it includes the whole existent condition of things. The actual world to Amos is based on force: the real world to the prophet is based on righteousness. Hence, in the approach-

ing day of the Lord, the emergence of the eternal order in the sphere of this world means that the existing order, both outside and inside Israel, must go down in ruin. It has no hold on reality, and must be utterly swept away.

Amos, it will be noticed, deals in cataclysm. This feature of his thought shows itself in two significant ways. Thus he never forms, and feels no need to form, any bridge between the present and the new conditions which are to follow the judgment in the day of the Lord. He preserves accordingly no continuity with the past. The fact is the more remarkable because already Elijah had foretold a threefold judgment which was to result from the self-manifestation of Yahweh in the kingdom of Ahab. But Elijah had also recognised that there were in Israel seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal. It was evident that these could not be thought of as sure to be utterly swept away by the judgment. They had not shared in the apostasy which had brought the judgment, and, since they held the principle of loyalty to Yahweh which was to form the foundation for any new future, they must in some way be preserved to become the nucleus for the new future. Elijah does not elaborate the question: but his whole prophecy has been preserved in a very incomplete form, and it is noteworthy that he does at least recognise its existence. Amos may or may not have seen the need for such a future and for connecting it with the past. It is impossible to say whether he did or not. What remains certain is that he did not feel the need for positing it, and the fact that he was thus able to ignore it and gave it no place in his prophecy is the sufficient proof that it held a subordinate position in his mind. What fills his entire thought is the cataclysm which is to be the result of Yahweh's intervention, and the condition of his nation and of the world which makes the cataclysm so sure and so complete. What may follow the intervention has been left

by him to be determined by the inscrutable will of God.

But, further, the cataclysmic character of Amos' thought shows itself in his representation of the method which Yahweh's intervention is to follow. God is to intervene by force, and is about to make His will valid and His order real in His world by force. His action is not unjust. So far is it from being touched with injustice, that, when in the exercise of His judgment He punishes His own people, the heathen can be summoned as witnesses of its entire justice. But there is no more than this. Yahweh's intervention makes no appeal, and apparently is not felt to need to make appeal, to those elements in man's nature which may welcome it and rejoice in it. His purpose makes itself valid in the world by the same means by which men have sought to make their will valid in their world, by the exercise of His illimitable power to compass and carry out His infinite ends. Amos has not developed his commanding ethical principle to its full issue. Otherwise he would have seen how it can never be sufficient to will a righteous end : it is also necessary to will the righteous means for making the end valid.

Thus the great lines of the intransigent picture which was drawn by the first prophet are peculiarly grim and sombre. The statement has all the simplicity, but also much of the slightly barren formalism, which characterises a great deal of the early apocalyptic and which forms the background of it all. It is more like the positing of a theological formula, than like the representation of how the future will unfold. But, partly through its naked rigidity, it was capable of doing one thing : it forced the primary issues on the attention of men.

Hence Isaiah takes over his predecessor's thought, but he takes it over with certain notable additions and modifications. He also believes in Yahweh's immediate intervention in His world, and sees that the first effect of the emer-

gence of a righteous world-order must be a judgment, which will begin at Israel but which will take in the world. To this broad scheme, which is the reproduction of that of Amos, he confines himself in his earlier utterances. But very soon he seems to have felt it necessary to state the means which Yahweh will use in the day of the consummation in order to make His will valid in the world which He controls. Now, so far as the primary act in the emergence of the new world-order is concerned, viz., the chastisement of Israel, the Lord will make use of Assyria. Assyria is a rod in the hands of Yahweh, it is the axe He will use in order to hew down the tree of Israel's overweening pride.

Why does Isaiah count it necessary to introduce the idea of such an instrument, and in particular why does he choose Assyria for such a purpose, or rather why does he consider it possible that Assyria should be used for this purpose by a righteous God ? It is because, when the prophet went to meet Ahaz at the beginning of his ministry and strove to turn his mind to reliance on Yahweh, the king of Judah put aside Isaiah's meddling interference and refused to appeal to the proffered sign. To meet the danger which was threatening his kingdom from the league of Syria and Northern Israel, Ahaz had already resolved to seek help from Assyria, and had already entered into a secret alliance with its king. Instead of relying absolutely on Yahweh and the spiritual defence of his God, he has taken refuge in the old methods of force. He has placed his reliance on the methods which the world uses for its deliverance : and these methods imply the very temper which is about to bring the judgment of Yahweh. It is because the world has based itself on an order which rests on force as its last support that the judgment of God is so near and so sure. The force to which Ahaz has turned for his salvation shall be his ruin. Assyria, that incarnation of the false principles on which

Ahaz with all his world is relying, shall be the instrument in God's hands to strike down the faithless king and nation. Isaiah is feeling the need, not only to posit a moral end and moral quality in the divine judgment itself; he is also feeling out after some moral principle in the methods which the divine judgment is to employ.

Ahaz and his kingdom in Judah have relied for their continuance on the methods of this world which is about to be brought to judgment. By such an act they have virtually admitted its principles and have accepted its sanctions. They shall accordingly be involved in the ruin which is about to fall on the existing false world-order. The sources of strength on which they have elected to lean are those which Yahweh is about to condemn in His day: and those who have relied on such sources of strength shall be swept away along with them. They have no hold on the fruitful and rich future which Yahweh is about to bring in. Isaiah is already feeling out after something more than cataclysm.

But this larger principle toward which Isaiah is feeling shows itself most clearly in his doctrine of the remnant. To the prophet it is abundantly clear that there are certain men in Judah who are not involved in the guilt of this choice of force, the world method of continuance. These are the men who do what he asked Ahaz to do, what Ahaz refused to do, who trust in God and in the divine methods for their deliverance. As such, as exercising this trust, as showing the temper of mind which is involved in trust in God, they have hold on the eternal thing which Yahweh is about to bring in on the day of His final vindication of His world-order. So far as they trust in Yahweh, they do not belong to the present order, but are already part of that world which is independent of time. They rely upon its sanctions, they live according to its laws, they refuse to

bring their lives into subjection to the principles of this world. Because they are such, they cannot pass away when the present world-order is swept out of existence by the divine judgment. The divine judgment rather comes to vindicate their trust, and make patent the abiding truth of those things on which they have relied. They belong not to the past which is so soon to disappear, but to the new future which is dawning. To them, accordingly, Yahweh will guarantee some place in the new order which He is about to establish. Far more clearly than Amos Isaiah sees that the world-judgment which is imminent must be more than destructive. It must be primarily destructive, this world being what it is: but its purpose in destruction is merely to clear the ground in order to set up something which shall be more in accordance with Yahweh's will. The judgment, because it comes from Yahweh, has its own principles, its own sanctions, its own issues: and these shall come to their fruition so soon as the necessary destruction has been wrought. The men, therefore, who have lived by these sanctions and sought these ends shall be guaranteed their place and their function in the new world which takes the place of the old.

At their head shall stand Immanuel, or the shoot out of the stock of Jesse, or the Messiah. This great figure again shows clearly the direction in which Isaiah's thought is moving. Messiah is the head of the new order which is to emerge from the present chaos as the result of the world-judgment. His very existence, therefore, is the proof of how the prophet is looking out to the new thing which Yahweh is about to bring in, and is not confined to the past which is doomed. A new world is about to come.

Messiah, too, is endowed with a double qualification: and each of these is suggestive as to what the new world is to mean. He is at once the root out of the stock of Jesse,

and so draws to himself all that is best and worthiest from the past of Israel: He is Immanuel, God with us, and so specially endowed for His new functions by Yahweh. The new order is the consummation of the past, and yet it is new. Messiah springs up out of the glory of the past, since He comes from the stock of Israel's first king. The new order in its head has its deep roots in the past, so that God's long travail with Israel and Israel's long travail with God do not go for nothing. Everything which the past has taught and made sure, all the fine flower out of that great past, shall be gathered up to make part of the new thing which the world and Israel are to see. The present world is condemned, but the present world is to be the place for the new order. It can be used for God's purposes, and is not merely to be blotted out in order to make way for a blank sheet on which He writes His new thoughts and aims.

In so far as Messiah is thus intimately connected with all Israel's past, He is the proof of how Yahweh's labour with and for His people has not gone for nothing, but has produced the stock which can and must be taken over into the new order which was emerging in the world. But, in so far as Messiah is specially endowed by Yahweh with new powers and graces for the new function He is called or created to exercise, He is also the guarantee that the new order which reaches to culmination in Him is new and cannot therefore pass away. It has the sure guarantee for eternal stability that it holds of the eternal. Yahweh has set it up in no external way, but by endowing its head with His new capacities. Because it is such, because it is based absolutely on His will, it is furthered always by Him.

Into this new order with such a head shall pass the remnant, who have committed themselves absolutely to His will, and have broken with the sanctions of this present world. However new and strange the new order may be

and must be, it shall suffice to give them all they need to fulfil their function as the servants of the mighty will of God. In that new world of His creation " His servants shall serve Him." Where and how this function was to be fulfilled, what were its latent implications, Isaiah did not detail. One may count it possible that he did not stay even to inquire. When a man is dealing with vast principles such as these which he has flung out, when he is feeling his way into a world of new thought, he is not apt to remember or to trouble about questions of detail.

But what the prophet did not stay to do, the people did. They were very like ordinary human beings in every period, more interested in the methods in which a great principle is to take shape than in the principles themselves which are capable of embodying themselves in a hundred shapes. Besides, the time in which they lived gave them occasion and excuse for turning their attention to these very questions. Sennacherib invaded Judah, and, at the last moment, when the kingdom appeared doomed, was compelled to turn back, a beaten man, from the gates of the capital. Surely here was the very scheme into which the prophet's anticipations of the future fitted like a hand into a glove. Isaiah had pronounced the Assyrian to be Yahweh's instrument for chastisement, and in the capture of Samaria and their own ruined towns it was easy to see how thoroughly he had carried out his allotted function. Yet, learning from their chastisement, the people had done exactly what Isaiah demanded : they had turned away from all earthly support and had relied on Yahweh alone for their deliverance. Royally the God, in whom they trusted, had vindicated their trust. He had delivered their capital, His city. He had preserved the temple from desecration by the foot of the invader. He had given them an outward vindication before the world, and manifested Himself and His power in the eyes of all

the nations. In the new order after His judgment, He was giving them the place and opportunity which was needed in order that they might serve Him. They needed Jerusalem and the temple in order to offer a reverent and seemly worship. And their God had preserved both of these, and given them back undefiled to the remnant, who had trusted in His will. The city and the temple were their place and opportunity for fulfilling God's will. To do His will then was to keep city and temple undefiled. City and temple were essential to God's purposes under all conditions; and God had proved how essential they were by intervening in the world to preserve them both and to preserve the trusting people which worshipped in them. The actual city, Jerusalem with its gates and streets, the actual temple with its altar and sacrifices and pilgrimages were the first necessity in order that God's servants might serve Him. There followed the great movement of the Deuteronomic reformation. Devout men in Judah set themselves to make clean the outside of the cup and platter by purifying the temple from every taint of idolatrous worship.

So greatly in this strangely mingled world is the good the enemy of the better. Isaiah's profound and searching ideals have come down to this.

That was the world of ideas into which Jeremiah was born. And he saw the new empire of Chaldea, which was simply the old empire of Assyria under a different name, the incarnation of a world-order based on force. He saw also that it was going to win the world; to him it had already won the world. He saw Isaiah's principles twisted to mean that Jerusalem and the temple were as necessary to God as Judah believed them to be necessary to herself. He saw devout men believing that, whatever happened in the world, God was going to preserve Jerusalem and its temple. And he knew Chaldea was about to take Jerusalem and to wreck

the temple. He knew this whole world of ideas was about to pass away like a dream when one awaketh. What would Judah do when the truth burst upon its dreaming mind ? Where was hope to be found for the future of religion and man ?

In certain respects we can best appreciate Jeremiah's situation when we say that he saw Germany win. The ideals for which Babylon stood, a world-order based on force, were about to dominate the whole world.

To men in Britain who last spring counted it possible that Germany might win, there were two things left to stay up the heart. Even if the ideals for which Germany stood were to dominate Europe, there was something left, for there remained the new lands beyond sea with cleaner ideals of justice and liberty and with some conceptions, however imperfectly realised, of a world-order based on honour. To Jeremiah, Jerusalem was the lonely spot of light left in a hostile world ; when God suffered it to be extinguished, there reigned nothing except darkness absolute.

Besides, we could believe in the Church, not in the sense of the official organisation, but in the wider sense of the union of men of good-will and faith. The world had seen the power of a body of men who had no outward bond of union, but who had the inward bond of faith in spiritual principles, to survive the break up of the forms of society among which they lived. The world had seen the power of such men, not only to survive the collapse of the older forms, but to build up a new organisation which should seek to embody their principles. History had shown how the Church could survive the collapse of the Roman world, and in the midst of a world dominated by force could draw together to build up a sweeter order, as men who believed in human brotherhood and mutual faith and God's furtherance of their work. Men had learned how impregnable

is the world of the spirit. But Jeremiah lived in a world which had never seen a Church, which could not easily conceive of the possibility of a body of men being held together by the bond of an ideal without any outward shape. Hitherto there had been nations with their religions, but there never had been in the world a religion without a nation to act as its embodiment, to support it, to protect it, to further its interests. Could religion stand by itself? Could it not only stand by itself, but could it continue to function in the world without the instruments through which it had hitherto done its work? Could it recreate the conditions which it needed for its full existence and shape to its own uses a world in which it was to live? Could it frame and support the outward organisation by which and through which it might continue to fulfil its mighty task of being the home of the souls of men?

These were the troubles which tortured the spirit of the young prophet, as he watched the slow, sure approach of Chaldea. He was utterly alone. His contemporaries could not understand him, for they were shut off by that most hopeless wall to all mutual understanding, a difference in fundamental principles. They believed that Yahweh would intervene for the protection of His temple as He had intervened for its protection against Assyria. Nebuchadnezzar should go the road of Sennacherib, and form another glorious proof of the power of faith. But their very confidence only gave Jeremiah a keener pain. When circumstances proved that their hope was vain, when Chaldea defiled and burned the temple, the religion based on the security of Jerusalem would collapse with the collapse of Jerusalem. And yet it was only in religion that he could hope for the foundation of the new order of things that Babylon's victory was to usher in.

It is little wonder that the man staggered under what he

described as the burden of the Lord. It seemed at times more than he could bear. Thou hast cheated me, he cried fiercely to the Almighty, Thou hast led me on step by step in the thought of religion won by communion with Thee: and I let myself be led on. And, behold, this is going to be the issue, a world which is based on the denial of Thee, and a religion held by one man alone in Judah.

The marvel is not that he wavered and staggered, but that he was able to win through at all. But he won through by no expectation of an approaching day of the Lord, which was to blot out the existing chaos and introduce a new world where Yahweh was king. He won through by faith that this truth, which held and mastered him and which had led him on to rely on itself alone, was not something which he held but something which held him, which could support him as it had led him, and which should give him the victory. Spiritual realities should vindicate themselves in the end. These realities, which alone were real, were strong enough to uphold every man who let himself go in confidence upon their truth and their power. He had not created these great principles, with which he was wrestling as though they were living things. He had not even discovered them for himself. They were a revelation, the revelation of God to him. They had discovered themselves as the basis on which all the world rested. They were the truths which gave consistency to any world-order, and however ignored and scorned, they must emerge in their own time. He could wait for them to reassert themselves, and bear his burden meantime: and, if he should be doomed never to see them re-emerge, he could bear that burden also. For when he tried to silence the inner voice which bade him rest his own hopes and all the hopes of the world on these broad, simple principles, it refused to be silenced. The truth became like a fire in his bones, burning its way through all

opposition, making itself heard amid all contradiction.

As surely as Isaiah, Jeremiah was confident that God would give to all the men who trusted in Him the opportunity and place which were needed to express their faith and to fulfil their service. Only the opportunity and place did not involve the maintenance of Jerusalem and the continuation of the temple. Devout men could serve their God and exercise their faith without a city which belonged to themselves, and without any temple. So he wrote his letter of consolation to the exiles in Babylon. But he had nothing to say to them about a return from exile. He did not promise that the Messiah would be raised up to deliver them out of their captivity and to make plain paths for their feet through the desert. He encouraged them rather not to look for any return from exile, but to think of the place where they were, and of the city to which in the Providence of God they had been carried captive. Jerusalem was not essential to a true faith: let them prove how true and securely founded their faith was by showing that they could do without Jerusalem. Jeremiah, unlike Isaiah, looks for no cataclysm which is to produce a new heaven and a new earth. Evidently the new heaven and the new earth might be in Babylon, since faithful men are encouraged not even to expect to be delivered from it. The new heaven and the new earth existed already, wherever men repented and turned with honest and humble hearts to serve the order which was everywhere present, because the Lord who was its head was never far away.

He spoke his mind in another place about the earlier exiles from Northern Israel. Whether he ever sent the words he had to say about them to the actual men may reasonably be doubted. It is quite possible that what he thought and said as to their condition was meant for the men of Judah among whom he was living. So a greater

than Jeremiah used the fancied conduct of the men of Nineveh to point His message to the men to whom He was speaking. After a similar method Jeremiah said to his own people living in Jerusalem and gathered in the courts of the temple that the exiled and therefore despised North-country men might be nearer God and accordingly closer to the kingdom than the men who pitied or despised their state. The kingdom was where its servants were. These might be scattered under alien skies, disowned, forgotten, ashamed: but they were of God's household, or, if they were shut out, it was not through His act, but through their own.

In all this region of thinking Jeremiah is utterly away from cataclysm. There is no new order which is about to be set up by an outward act of Yahweh on the earth. There is no longer need for an outward act to introduce the new order, for the order is here, in Babylon among the exiles, in the unknown lands to which Israel has been carried, as well as in Jerusalem. Accordingly there is no need any longer for the figure of Messiah: and Jeremiah has no promise of Messiah, or at least no central position in which that great figure stands. To him the guarantee of continuance with the past, for which Messiah stood, is found in the simple fact that those who wait for the kingdom of God are those who through the travail of the past have learned its meaning and its value. To them it is always coming anew, as it has already come in the mere fact that they have found themselves able to desire it and to seek to live after its sanctions. They have found God and content in God: and through these discoveries they have found also the means to subdue the hard conditions of their present lot and to triumph over them. They have already the opportunity and the place needed for the right exercise of their faith and may expect a better when it pleases God. Whether in Babylon or in remote Egypt men can serve the

God of their fathers, and to them the kingdom is present, not certainly in its fulness and in all it has to bring for the solace of men, but in sufficient fulness to make them able to endure what they are called to bear, the present burden of the Lord, in sufficient fulness even to give them courage and hope to build up a higher thing and a better, for they can seek the good of the city to which God has been pleased to bring them. For the truths and principles which they are able to hold, because they believe in God, are independent of all outward circumstances, are indeed the only principles which can subdue outward circumstances, and which can give men patience to mould the most untoward outward circumstances into some humble or lordly framework, within the shelter of which men can live and live together and do fruitful work together. Such work alone has permanence in it because it holds of the royal tenure of the order which is everlasting, since after it God's world has been created and is disposed.

As for Assyria and Babylonia and the other erections that rest merely on human pride and force, "I am set," he said when little more than a boy, over the nations and over the kingdoms to pluck up and to break down and to destroy and to overthrow; to build and to plant. The words sound so strange to many commentators that they are generally denied to Jeremiah. And yet they are very simple when one connects them with his leading thoughts. For the same principles which make possible and fertilise a fruitful future, loyalty and singleness of purpose and simple honour among men and faith in God's sovereign power and merciful will lay flat the proud outward kingdoms which seek to deny their very existence. The fantastic erections of man's pride, Assyria and Babylonia, will pass away sapped and wasted by the living word which holds of the eternal order: but the eternal order is ever coming, slow,

patient, unshaken, sure out of the chaos of a disordered world through the endurance of the men who trust in God.

ADAM C. WELCH.

A NEW CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL.

(*Concluded.*)

St Paul's outline of the course of his life after his conversion, given in Galatians i. 15 ff.

St. Paul himself in his defence of his apostolic independence found in Galatians i. 15 ff. throws a considerable amount of light upon his movements during the decade and a half which followed his conversion, and Dr. Plooij makes the following comments upon the chronological details contained in this personal narrative.

1. The μετὰ ἔτη τρία of Galatians i. 18 used by the Apostle to define the time of his first visit to Jerusalem represents "two full years" in accordance with the then current practice of including the opening and closing years in computing the length of a period, so that the visit in question fell somewhere within the third year after the conversion.

2. Similarly the expression διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν of Galatians ii. 1 which defines the time of the second visit to Jerusalem denotes a period of "thirteen full years." Whether these thirteen years are to be reckoned from the conversion or from the previous visit to Jerusalem Dr. Plooij is not prepared to decide at this stage of the discussion. Lightfoot, Zahn and others regard the thirteen years as the period that elapsed between the first and second visits, and in our author's opinion this is quite a reasonable view to take, because the Apostle might well emphasise this period of thirteen years as well as the earlier period of two

years in order to press home his independence, seeing that during two periods, covering between them somewhere about sixteen years, he had only spent a few days in Jerusalem. Ramsay, on the other hand, takes the conversion as the one central fact in the Apostle's life-story as viewed by himself, and would base every chronological computation upon that event, a theory for which there is much to be said. The distinction between the μετὰ ἔτη τρία in the one case and διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν in the other may possibly indicate that the Apostle was not concerned to divide his life into periods and that both numbers look back to the same basal point, i.e. the conversion. Dr. Plooij will not take the responsibility of choosing between the two conflicting views at this point because he considers that other data associated with his scheme of relative chronology have to be taken into account before a satisfactory decision can be arrived at.

3. *What is the correct meaning of Galatians ii.* 10?

Our author claims that a correct interpretation of this verse is essential to the proper understanding of St. Paul's narrative and of the chronological problems which arise from it. The true rendering of the verse depends, he tells us, upon realising that the Apostle is employing the tenses in it with meticulous care and attention, a fact which has hitherto only been recognised by Ramsay. The discussion must be studied in detail in order to appreciate the force of the argument based upon St. Paul's use of tenses in this verse. St. Paul is still concerned with the defence of his apostolic independence and the verse should be rendered either (a) "One charge only they gave us: to remember the poor brethren, a duty which as a matter of fact I at that time made it my special care to perform"; or (b) "They instructed us only to remember permanently

(present) the poor, which I then made it my object to do" (aorist). Dr. Plooij accepts Ramsay's interpretation of *αὐτὸ τοῦτο* as meaning "the only kind of instruction the brethren at Jerusalem gave me—viz. to succour the poor—was not something laid upon me from outside, but something that I without a hint from these authorities was already attending to with the utmost zeal." The point of the Apostle's statement is not that a task was committed to him which he had already performed, but that the service claimed from him by the "pillar Apostles" was already undertaken on his own initiative: in a word, the verse is an additional factor in his argument for his independence of the "twelve."

The apparent discrepancies between Acts *and* Galatians.

Our author allows that the narrative in the Acts differs in some important details from the Apostle's own account in *Galatians*, but he is not convinced that the one absolutely contradicts the other in any one point. The discrepancies between the two narratives are to be explained principally by St. Luke's method of writing. He often ignores one course of events and at the same time lays particular stress upon another course and so creates an impression which is not always in accord with the actual situation as a whole. There is no real contradiction between the Apostle's more detailed description of the events that filled the years immediately following upon his conversion and St. Luke's more cursory review of the same period, but the historian has left some considerable gaps in his narrative which St. Paul's account enables us to complete. Again, the difference between St. Paul's own expression in Galatians i. 21, "Then I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia," and St. Luke's phrase in Acts ix. 30, "They brought him down to Caesarea and sent him forth to Tarsus," if

difference indeed there be, is due to the special point of view of the writer in each case. St. Paul was referring to the *terrain* covered by his work during the long period that intervened between the first and second visit to Jerusalem, while St. Luke was more concerned with the route taken by the Apostle in his travels. It is most improbable that a restless soul like St. Paul could have been chained to Tarsus during all these long years, and St. Luke probably implies no more than that Tarsus was the centre and headquarters of the Apostle's activity during this period. The point emphasised is the same in both accounts, viz. the distance of the new destination from Jerusalem, in the case of St. Luke as assuring the personal safety of St. Paul, and in the Apostle's own case as a proof of his complete independence of the authorities at Jerusalem for a considerable number of years.

The identification of Acts xi. 27–30, *xii.* 25, *with Galatians ii.* 1–10.

Dr. Plooij now proceeds to examine Zahn's objections against identifying the "collection-journey" of Acts xi. 27–30 with the journey described by St. Paul in Galatians ii. 1–10. Zahn's objections may be briefly summarised as follows.

1. According to Acts xii. 1–25 the Apostles had fled from Jerusalem and the "elders" only were available when Paul and Barnabas arrived in the city, so that a meeting with the "pillar-Apostles" such as is described in Galatians ii. 9 was impossible at that particular moment.

2. A chronological difficulty. The events described in Acts xii. 1–24 cannot have taken place later than 44–45, and the "collection-journey" must be closely associated with these. But the visit in Galatians ii. is specifically dated seventeen years after the conversion, so that the latter

event must have happened in 27–28, both of them impossible dates.

3. Galatians ii. 5 seems to imply that the Churches of Galatia were already established when the visit in question took place, and, if this is so, the visit must at the very earliest be placed after Acts xiii. and xiv.

4. At the time of the "collection-journey" St. Paul could hardly have been described as a missionary to the Gentiles seeing that he had only spent a year as a teacher at Antioch, and apparently in a subordinate capacity, with Barnabas as his leader.

5. There is in the Acts not the slightest indication that the visit of Paul and Barnabas had any motive beyond the delivery of the collection nor any hint, in spite of St. Luke's well-known interest in the question, of any discussions or conferences dealing with the relations between Jewish and Gentile Christians.

Dr. Plooij's replies to these objections.

1. This is an instance of "the argument from silence." St. Luke only mentions the "elders" because they were the financial officers of the Church to whom, in the ordinary course of events, the collection would be handed over. There is nothing in the narrative to lead us to suppose that the Apostles who had left the city did not return to Jerusalem after Herod's death, when the Church was enjoying the period of rest and growth emphasised in Acts xii. 24. There is no reason, therefore, why they should not have been present at a conference such as is described in Galatians ii. 1–10 before Paul and Barnabas left for Antioch.

2. Zahn has not rightly understood the ancient method of computing time. The period between the conversion and the visit in Galatians ii. would at the longest be only one of fifteen and not seventeen years, so that there is no

insuperable chronological difficulty here. But even if this difficulty existed it is our chronology that must be revised and not the exegesis of Galatians ii.

3. There is no difficulty here, because Galatians ii. 5 does not imply that the Galatian Churches were already in existence, or that St. Paul, when defending the claims of conscience, freedom in Christ, and the rights of Gentile Christians could only be thinking of one particular community of brethren.

4. Dr. Plooij's reply to this objection is too lengthy to be reproduced here. He insists that the point made by Zahn tells rather in favour and not against the identification of the two passages, and that it is impossible to get a clear and intelligible view of the course of the Judaistic controversy and of the part played in it by St. Paul until we realise that the critical moment consisted in the Apostle's firm and definite stand for the freedom of the Gentile Churches from the demands of Jewish legalists at this early stage of the conflict. The experiences of the Apostle at Antioch had already brought him face to face with this inevitable problem, and no time was to be lost if the future of the Gentile Churches was not to be fatally compromised. Barnabas was too closely associated with the Church of Jerusalem to deal outspokenly with the rights of Gentile Christians, and St. Paul found himself forced to take the lead when the question came up for discussion at the conference in that city. It was then that the first signs of the breach between the two Apostles began to be manifested; its later stages only are mentioned by St. Luke, who was not concerned with the relations between the two missionaries at that moment. The definite separation took place some years later and was only the natural result of the very strong and definite attitude taken by St. Paul at the first conference at Jerusalem.

Some chronological data based on the preceding conclusions.

Assuming then (1) that Galatians was written to the Churches of South Galatia,

(2) that τὸ πρότερον in Galatians iv. 13 does not refer to the second of two visits,

and (3) that Acts xi. 27–30 and Galatians ii. 1–10 describe one and the same visit, we arrive at the following chronological data.

Galatians was written in the middle of the difficulties described in Acts xv. These difficulties were concerned with a Judaistic propaganda in South Galatia, which came to the Apostle's knowledge when he was at Antioch on his return from the First Missionary Journey, where he also found himself confronted by a similar propaganda. How the information concerning the situation reached him is not known, but Timothy may have been his informant. The position was evidently so serious that St. Paul thought it necessary to proceed to Jerusalem without delay in order to confer with the Christian authorities in that city. This explains why he was not able to return to Galatia at once in order to bring his personal influence to bear on the situation (Gal. iv. 20).

Now the visit to Jerusalem described in Acts xi. and Galatians ii. took place either in 16/15, or 13 years, after the conversion, according to whether we regard the two periods mentioned in Galatians i. and ii. as successive periods or consider that the lesser is included in the greater. Following this visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem came a short stay at Antioch, after which the two Apostles set forth on the First Missionary Journey described in Acts xiii. and xiv. On their return to Antioch at the end of this missionary tour they spent χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον with the disciples at Antioch, and it was during this sojourn at Antioch that the crisis developed which led to the Apostolic

Council in Jerusalem. Dr. Plooij had already in Book I. Chap. II. fixed 46 as the probable date of the "collection-journey," so that, accepting the earlier of the alternatives noted above, the conversion would have taken place in 30–31, the earliest possible date perhaps in view of the fact that the Crucifixion is placed by the most recent authorities on March 18, 29. There is no possible objection to 31 as the date of the conversion, and a date as early as 30 even is not out of the question. Between *the year* 46 and the year of St. Paul's arrival in Corinth, viz. *early in* 50 we must find room for the First Missionary Journey, the Apostolic Council, the Second Missionary Journey through Asia Minor and its continuation through Macedonia and Achaia, i.e. the period covered by Acts xii.–xvii. Again, between the *earlier half of the year* 50 and *the date of St. Paul's arrest in Jerusalem*, which for the present we shall assume to be 57, we must include St. Paul's stay in Corinth, a journey through Ephesus, Caesarea, Jerusalem, Antioch and a return journey through South Galatia to Ephesus, a residence at Ephesus of three years, and a further journey through Macedonia and Greece, and a return to Jerusalem *viâ* Troas, Miletus, Tyre, and Caesarea. How the intervals between these two pairs of dates should be filled Dr. Plooij proceeds to show in the two concluding chapters of the book.

Chapter 3. The First Chronological Period of St. Paul's Life.

(a) *The First Missionary Journey.*

Paul and Barnabas, according to the reckoning adopted in the preceding chapter, returned from the "collection-journey" to Antioch in the winter of 45–46. In the spring of 46 they set forth for the First Missionary Journey, arriving at Paphos in Cyprus some two months later. In Paphos itself they spent several days and thence proceeded to Perga

in Pamphylia, but their stay here was short and we next find them in Pisidian Antioch. The length of their stay at Antioch cannot be defined with certainty. Ramsay suggests two months, and Dr. Plooij is of opinion that it could hardly have been less than this because "the word of God was spread abroad throughout the whole region." From Antioch their next stage was Iconium, and they must have spent a substantially longer time there than they did at Antioch, for St. Luke specifically remarks that they remained there *ἱκανὸν χρόνον* (Acts xiv. 3). Ramsay's suggestion of eight months is, however, improbable because preaching such as St. Paul's seldom takes long to create offence and a reaction. The most that we can say is that some months at least must have been spent between Antioch and Iconium. In Lystra, the next halting place, the missionaries remained long enough to form a circle of disciples, while in Derbe, which was the extreme point of their tour, a still wider circle of disciples was attracted. From Derbe the Apostles started back on their homeward journey, visiting on their way the churches of Lystra, Iconium and Antioch, "confirming the souls of the disciples, exhorting them to continue in the faith" and "appointing elders in every city." Taking the journey as a whole Dr. Plooij is not disposed to allow more than a stay of three months in any single city on the outward journey and considerably less on the return journey, and he brings the Apostles back again to Antioch in the year 47. Ramsay, on the other hand, allots *two and a half years* to the tour, and Renan four or five years. Dr. Plooij does not agree with Ramsay, who states that "the estimates of time given in the preceding sketch of the Apostle's journey, viz. two and a half years in all, are the least possible in view of the effects produced. A certain amount of time is necessary in order that two unknown strangers first gain a hearing

and then make many converts and establish a permanent congregation in a city, where the established religion was so opposite in character to that which they preached" (*C. R. E.* p. 72). As a matter of fact Paul and Barnabas were working on soil which had been remarkably well prepared. The Jews in the cities formed a very important and influential section of the population and all evidence goes to prove that even the heathen population of Asia Minor was intensely interested in the religion of the Jews. The fact that among the Jewish proselytes at Antioch there were to be found women of high position and the instantaneous effect produced in the same city by the preaching of St. Paul, "the whole city was gathered together to hear the word of God," shows clearly that the Christian preaching took these cities by storm and that it is idle to dogmatise as to the precise length of time that was needed to establish a Christian community in any particular city. Dr. Plooij, therefore, considers that a length of *one and a half years* satisfies all the conditions of the tour and that the Apostles arrived back at Antioch *August or September* 47.

(b) *The Judaistic controversy.*

In Antioch Paul and Barnabas spent χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον, a very vague expression of which we can only say that it does mean that the Apostles made a respectable stay in that city as against the transition from Acts xii. 25 to xiii. 1–3, when they seem to have started on their missionary tour almost immediately after their arrival from Jerusalem. We may then allot some months of rest at Antioch before they set forth again on their travels, the occasion now being the assembling of the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem to discuss the burning question of the position of Gentiles in the Christian Church. Dr. Plooij strongly insists that the *Epistle to the Galatians* must have been sent to its destination

before the decree of the Apostolic Council was passed and promulgated and that it is unthinkable that St. Paul could have written as he does in Galatians v. 2 if the Galatians had already been in possession of the Apostolic Decree. The troubles which demanded the calling together of the Council were not confined to the Churches of South Galatia because a similar state of affairs prevailed at Antioch. The whole trend of St. Paul's narrative at this point goes to show that Paul and Barnabas must have spent some months at Antioch and that the winter following the autumn of 47 was over before the Council closed its proceedings. When the question at issue had been settled to St. Paul's satisfaction he decided to lose no time in paying a second visit to the Galatian Churches, taking Silas as his companion instead of Barnabas. Dr. Plooij allows that the circumcision of Timothy at this juncture, which to me appears absolutely unintelligible if *Galatians* had already been written, is difficult to understand, but he suggests that now the question of principle was no longer at stake the Apostle allowed the young disciple to be circumcised in the interests of peace. This second visit was undertaken soon after the deliberations of the council were concluded — *μετά τινεας ἡμέρας*—because the Apostle was longing to find how matters stood in Galatia. Allowing then *six months* for the stay at Antioch this second journey of St. Paul to South Galatia would *not* be undertaken *before the summer of* 48. Passing through Syria and Cilicia "confirming the churches" as he went St. Paul came to Derbe and then to Lystra, where Timothy was circumcised and taken as his companion on his subsequent travels. In all the cities that he passed through he delivered the Apostolic Decree because in it his own principles were confirmed, whether as preached by him on the First Missionary Journey or as expressed in writing in the letter that he had recently

addressed to Galatian Churches. What length of time was spent on this particular part of the journey is difficult to tell, but the fact that the Apostle's visit produced a definite result in every Christian community—"the churches were strengthened in faith and increased in number daily" (Acts xvi. 5)—warns us against shortening it unduly. From Iconium the Apostle passed through *τὴν Φρυγίαν κ. Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, a phrase which Dr. Plooij is disposed to interpret as meaning the borderland between Phrygia and Galatia, so that the route followed by the Apostle was through Antioch, Apamaea, and Dorylaeum. Prevented from preaching in Mysia and Bithynia St. Paul turned his face towards the west and reached Troas. St. Luke gives no hint as to the length of time covered by the journey from Iconium to Troas, but the sea-voyage across the Aegean could not well have been undertaken *after the late autumn of* 48. The stay in Philippi, St. Paul's first halting ground on European soil, is described as having continued over *ἡμέρας τινάς*, but as this expression might only refer to the period preceding the visit to the *προσευχή* it does not of necessity cover the whole of the Apostle's residence in Philippi. A variant reading, *ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς*, suggests that some considerable time was spent in this city, and what we know of the remarkably intimate relations that afterwards existed between the Apostle and the Philippian Church bears out the suggestion. We may, therefore, allot several months to this particular visit. After the arrest and subsequent release of Paul and Silas they proceeded to Amphipolis and then to Thessalonica. St. Luke had remained behind at Philippi and, according to Acts xx. 6, joined the Apostle again when he called at Philippi on his way east. At Thessalonica St. Paul preached on three successive Sabbaths, but his work in that city must have covered a longer period than this. The very fact that a

church was formed in the city confirms this view even if we did not possess in 1 Thessalonians i. and ii. the Apostle's own description of what he accomplished in Thessalonica, a description implying considerably more time than the two or three weeks spent in preaching in the synagogue. It was the extension of the Christian propaganda among the Jews, and more especially among the proselytes, that aroused the hostility and opposition of the Jewish authorities, an opposition which 1 Thessalonians ii. 14–16 shows to have been of a far graver character than we should have gathered if we had only the evidence of the Acts at our disposal. Driven from Thessalonica by this bitter hostility the Apostles next find themselves at Beroea, where *some months* must have been passed. A mission started under very favourable auspices, which awakened the interest of " Greek women of honourable estate, and of men, not a few " was brought to an abrupt termination by the intervention of the hostile Jews of Thessalonica, and St. Paul eventually finds himself alone in Athens. Silas and Timothy having been left behind in Beroea. At Athens the Apostle waited for the arrival of his companions. Timothy apparently made his appearance early because we gather from 1 Thessalonians iii. 1 that he was sent from Athens to Thessalonica. On his return journey he probably picked up Silas at Beroea and they both joined St. Paul at Corinth. The Apostle's visit to Athens was short, covering at the most from four to six weeks, and he departed from the capital of Greek learning a disillusioned and disappointed man. Although it is hardly possible to define with accuracy the periods spent in Philippi, Thessalonica, Beroea, and Athens the missionary activities in these four cities must have *covered the whole of the year* 49, so that the *beginning of* 50 is a reasonable date for St. Paul's arrival at Corinth, which was the date agreed upon earlier in the book as

the result of the data of absolute chronology. But Dr. Plooij gives us fair warning that this and all other relative reckonings are only estimates which are merely based on reasonable probabilities. The accuracy of the probability is, however, greater in proportion to the number of data that can be accumulated and the correctness of the whole chronological chain is increased with every additional link, but we are reminded that a fairly wide margin must be allowed for possible corrections of the conclusions formulated here.

Chapter 4. The Second Chronological Period of St. Paul's Life.

If we take the beginning of of St. Paul's mission at Corinth as the starting point of our second period and the Apostle's arrest and the voyage to Rome which followed two years after that event as its conclusion we enter upon our inquiry with very definite information as to the years actually covered by it. The date of the Apostle's residence at Corinth is fixed with tolerable accuracy by the Gallio-inscription, and the date of Festus' procuratorship, when satisfactorily established, will indicate the year when St. Paul embarked on the voyage to Rome. Dr. Plooij, however, reminds us at this point that, arising from the inquiry on the lines of Ramsay's theory as to the exact day on which St. Paul's visit to Troas fell (Acts xx. 7), it has been discovered by recent research that we have a choice between two years, viz. 54 and 57, both of which satisfy the conditions of the problem. This means that as far as this particular line of enquiry is concerned we have two possible dates for Festus' procuratorship, viz. 56 or 59. Now comparing these two dates with those given in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius we find that in the Armenian version the procuratorship of Festus starts in the year 54, i.e. two years

before the earlier of our two possible dates, but that in Jerome's version the same event is placed in 56, which agrees with the first alternative. This, it will be remembered, is the date favoured by Harnack, but Dr. Plooij earlier in the book has given convincing reasons for his contention that Jerome's date is simply a casual correction of a palpable mistake in the Armenian version and that the data of the latter version when correctly interpreted point to 59 as being the true date of Festus's accession to office. The period then now under review from the Apostle's arrival in Corinth to his arrest in Jerusalem falls between the new year of 50 and Pentecost 57. St. Luke tells us that the Apostle "dwelt in Corinth a year and six months" (Acts xviii. 11). After his appearance before Gallio he remained in the city *ἡμέρας ἱκανάς* (Acts xviii. 18), and it is a moot point whether these "many days" should be included in the period of "a year and six months" previously mentioned. Dr. Plooij is inclined to think that they are not included because the narrative gives the impression that during the longer period the Apostle was allowed to prosecute his mission unmolested and undisturbed and that this season of quiet covered the year and a half in question. But in any case the second period was not of long duration, so that if the conflict with the Jews occurred in July 51 the Apostle would have left Corinth for Ephesus somewhere about August of that year. His stay at Ephesus on this occasion was short and the reason is given in the Western Text of Acts xviii. 21: *Δεῖ με πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.* The Apostle might well be anxious to take advantage of a favourable opportunity to preach to his own race and the Western Text may represent the original and not be merely an interpolation from Acts xx. 16. From Ephesus St. Paul proceeded by sea to Caesarea and, in St. Luke's words, "went up (*ἀναβὰς*) and saluted the

church and went down to Antioch" (Acts xviii. 22). The "church" mentioned in this verse is usually taken to mean the Church of Caesarea, but our author is inclined to take it as referring to the Church of Jerusalem, as *ἀναβαίνειν* is generally used to signify a journey to Jerusalem and this view is supported by the text of the Armenian Catena *ἀναβὰς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις*. What the verse, therefore, would appear to mean is that the Apostle went up from Caesarea to Jerusalem to visit the Church in that city and then returned to Antioch, which would confirm still further the originality of the Western Text of Acts xviii. 21 which gave the Apostle's anxiety to spend the feast at Jerusalem as his reason for not delaying at Ephesus. If St. Paul left Corinth in August of that year he was allowing himself a sufficient margin of time to reach Jerusalem in time for the coming Feast, which was the Feast of Tabernacles and fell on October 9, 51. It is true that Ramsay identifies the Feast in question with the Passover, but Dr. Plooij considers this view improbable because the expression "*the* feast" generally refers to the Feast of Tabernacles; and besides, if St. Paul had to arrive in Jerusalem before the Passover he would have had to undertake a long sea voyage much too early in the year. From Jerusalem the Apostle returned again to Antioch, which had been the starting point of his two earlier missionary journeys and remained there *χρόνον τινά* (Acts xviii. 23). From Antioch he proceeded to Ephesus *διερχόμενος καθεξῆς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*, a phrase which Dr. Plooij takes to mean that St. Paul journeyed through Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, "establishing the disciples," and then passed through *τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη*, i.e. along the road that runs across the plateau of Asia Minor, north of the great military road which follows the Lake of Anava, the valley of the Lycus, and the course of the Maeander,

and so came to Ephesus. We cannot tell how long the Apostle stayed in Antioch or what time he spent on the journey through the cities of South Galatia and over the highlands of Asia Minor. He was at Jerusalem in October 51 and the journey to Ephesus must have been accomplished during the winter of 51–52. We must allow some months for his activities in the Galatian Churches so that he can hardly have arrived at Ephesus *before the spring of* 52 and probably not till later. In Ephesus he worked for three months in the synagogue and for two years in the school of Tyrannus. The two years in the school of Tyrannus represents a round number because St. Paul himself speaks in Acts xx. 31 of having spent "three years" in Ephesus which would bring us to the spring of 55 or the winter of 55–56 as the moment of his departure from that city. Rackham suggests (*Acts*, p. 363) that the disturbances which caused the Apostle to leave Ephesus were connected with the *Artemisia* held in March or April which would fix the date of his departure with tolerable certainty, but it is nothing more than a reasonable suggestion for which there is no support in the narrative in the Acts. St. Paul had already planned that when the time came for him to bring his activities at Ephesus to a close he was to travel through Macedonia and Greece and afterwards to Jerusalem, and had sent Timothy and Erastus before him to Macedonia. His plans were, however, spoilt by the attack of Ephesian paganism upon the Christian Mission which compelled him to leave the city earlier than he had intended and so we find him at Troas in the winter of 55–56. At Troas he waited for Titus whom he had expected to meet there, and his period of waiting had probably to be extended as far as the end of February or the beginning of March 56, until he could find a ship in which to cross over to Macedonia. Passing through Macedonia, visiting and exhorting the

Churches of Philippi, Thessalonica, and Beroea as he went, he arrived in Corinth where he spent three months. From Corinth he apparently purposed as soon as sea travelling became feasible to depart for Syria, but this plan was frustrated by certain plots of the Jews in Corinth, and as it was yet too early to proceed by sea he went overland by Macedonia. He probably, therefore, left Corinth about February, 57, when it was yet rather too early to find a ship. The following then are the probable points of time in the period that elapsed between the departure from Ephesus and the later departure from Corinth. St. Paul left Ephesus late in 55, spent part of the winter of 55–56 at Troas, left Troas in March, 56, reached Corinth about October, 56, and departed from Corinth about February, 57. The subseqeunt journey from Philippi to Jerusalem can be followed from day to day. Assuming as correct the theory that the Apostle left Philippi the very day after the Days of Unleavened Bread in the year 57, i.e. on Friday, April 15, he would reach Troas on Tuesday, April 19, and remain there until Monday, April 25. He arrived at Miletus three days later, on Thursday, April 28. He avoided Ephesus because he was anxious to reach Jerusalem before Pentecost which fell on May 27. In order to allow time then his instructions to reach the elders at Ephesus and for them to meet him at Miletus the conference could not not could have been held before the Saturday and the Apostle did Tuesday continue his journey before Monday, May 1, or possibly May Day, May 2. He arrived at Patara on the evening of the next and reached Tyre five days later on May 8. Here he remained seven days, leaving for Ptolemais on May 14 ἡμέρας reaching Caesarea on May 15. At Caesarea he spent undue πλείους because there was now no occasion for days haste, as he had ample time in hand, viz. twelve days, to reach Jerusalem before Pentecost. He halted once

on the road between Caesarea and Jerusalem, for according to the Western Text the Apostle was conducted by one Mnason, *ἀρχαιῳ μαθητῇ*, to a certain village. Ramsay's suggestion that the first part of the journey was done on horseback is an eminently reasonable one, seeing that the provision of horses was only a natural act of courtesy on the part of the Church of Caesarea towards a revered leader, and this also gives quite a good meaning to the phrase *ἐπισκευασάμενοι ἀναβαίνομεν* (Acts xxi. 16).

The last part of the journey was traversed on foot, and on the day following his arrival in Jerusalem the Apostle paid his official visit to James and the elders of the Church. His arrest probably took place almost immediately after Pentecost 57, on the last of the " seven days of purification." On the day after the arrest St. Paul was brought before the Sanhedrin and during the day following that the chief-captain learnt of the Jews' plot against the Apostle's life and decided to secure his prisoner's safety by sending him to Caesarea that very night. The journey to Caesarea occupied two days, and four days later the Jewish accusers also arrived in the city. After hearing both accusers and accused Felix, the procurator, deferred the matter until the arrival of the chief-captain, and for reasons which are somewhat obscure the Apostle was detained in custody for two whole years until Felix was relieved by his successor Festus, some time in the summer of 59. The data at our disposal do not enable us to fix the arrival of Festus in his province with greater accuracy than this, and St. Luke's very detailed narrative of the handling of St. Paul's case by the new governor does not give us any substantial help in the matter. Two days after his arrival in Caesarea Festus proceeded to Jerusalem, eight or ten days later (Acts xxv. 6) he was back again in Caesarea, and on the day following his return St. Paul was brought before him, the

proceedings closing with the Apostle's "appeal to Caesar." St. Luke then relates that "when certain days were passed" Agrippa and Berenice came to Caesarea and that on the day following their arrival St. Paul appeared before them to plead his cause.

The voyage to Rome.

St. Luke gives no hint of what space of time elapsed between the appearance before Agrippa and the departure for Rome, but the chronology of the voyage itself is fairly simple. We must allow at least a month between Festus' arrival in Caesarea and the visit of Agrippa. The Western Text of Acts xxvii. 5 allows fourteen days for the voyage from Caesarea to Myra, a perfectly reasonable proposition. At Myra they change ships, but the rate of travelling is now so slow that much valuable time is lost before Fair Havens in Crete was reached. There again they were detained by contrary winds until the period of safe-voyaging was past, i.e. until after September 14, if we adopt the reckoning of Vegetius. A further chronological factor is supplied at this point by St. Luke, who informs us that "the fast" which fell on 10th Tisri (=Oct. 5 in that year) was already gone by. The ship, however, must have left Fair Havens before the Feast of Tabernacles, which fell on October 10, because it is inconceivable that St. Luke should have mentioned the Fast and ignored the Feast if the ship's departure had been delayed until both Fast and Feast were gone by. The ship, therefore, left Fair Havens between the 5th and 10th of October and Malta was reached about the beginning of November. According to Acts xxviii. 11 two full months (μετὰ τρεῖς μῆνας) were spent by the shipwrecked travellers in the island, which bring us to January 60 as the date of the commencement of the concluding stage of the voyage. There is a difficulty here because ships rarely ventured out to sea so early in the

year as this, and after his recent disastrous experience the centurion in charge of the prisoners might well have hesitated to face another voyage during the dangerous season. It is possible that St. Luke is only employing round numbers in the above reckoning and that the departure did not actually take place before February. If a ship was found to sail as early as January it was probably a grain ship whose early arrival in Rome was urgently demanded because of the prevailing scarcity of corn in the Imperial city. St. Paul probably reached his destination about the beginning of March 60 and remained a prisoner "in his own hired dwelling" for two whole years, so that the narrative in the Acts closes in March 62.

Dr. Plooij, following the example of St. Luke takes us no further than this point in St. Paul's life. He expresses no opinion on the vexed question whether the Apostle's life was continued beyond this point, but he does state that, even if St. Paul was released from captivity, we have no direct or definite information on which to base anything like a systematic chronology. It is possible, he remarks, that in the future, by the help of the Pauline Epistles, and more especially of the Pastorals, and of other literary and archaeological remains, some further positive conclusions may be arrived at, but an inquiry of this nature is not within the province of his own book.

The following is a summary of the conclusions arrived at in the course of this inquiry.

	A.D.
The Conversion of St. Paul	30–31
Stay in Damascus (including Arabia)	30–32, 31–33
First visit to Jerusalem	32–33
Departure for Tarsus	32–33
Arrival at Antioch (Acts xi. 25)	Beg. of 45
"Collection-Journey"	Winter of 45–46
First Missionary Journey	Spring of 46
Return to Antioch	Aug.–Sept. 47

	A.D.
Apostolic Council	Spring of 48
Second Missionary Journey	Summer of 48
Departure from Troas	Autumn of 48
Arrival at Corinth	New Year of 50
Departure from Corinth	July–Aug. 51
St. Paul at Jerusalem	Oct. 51
Stay in Antioch	Winter 51–52
Journey through South Galatia	52
Arrival at Ephesus	Autumn 52
Departure from Ephesus	Autumn 55
Departure from Troas	Early in 56
In Macedonia and Greece	March 56–Feb. 57
Departure from Corinth	Feb. 57
Departure from Philippi	April 15, 57
Arrival at Jerusalem and arrest	Pentecost 57
Imprisonment at Caesarea	57–59
Voyage to Rome	Autumn 59
Shipwreck	Nov. 59
Arrival in Rome	Feb. 60
Imprisonment at Rome	60–62

The following table will enable the reader to see at a glance how Dr. Plooij's conclusions compare with those reached by other well-known scholars:

	C. H. Turner.[1]	W. M. Ramsay.[2]	A. Zenos.[3]	D. Plooij.
Crucifixion	29	—	29–30	29
Conversion of St. Paul	35	33	34–35	30–31
1st Visit to Jerusalem (Acts ix.)	38	35	—	32–33
2nd Visit to Jerusalem (Acts xi.)	46	45–46	45–46	Winter 45–46
First Missionary Journey	47	47	47–48	46
Apostolic Council	49	49–50	49–50	48
Arrival at Corinth	50	Sept. 51	—	New Year of 50
Third Missionary Journey	52	53	54	52
Arrest in Jerusalem	56	57	58	57
Procuratorship of Festus	58	59	60	59

Maurice Jones.

[1] Art. "Chronology" in *H.D.B.*
[2] *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 395 ff.
[3] Art. "Dates" in *H.D.A.Ch.*

THE COMMUNION OF THE BODY.

"The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" (1 *Cor.* x. 16).

R.V. gives "a communion" in both clauses: R.V. margin suggests "participation in" for "communion" in both clauses.

"The cup of blessing which we bless, is that not participating in the blood of Christ? The bread we break, is that not participating in the body of Christ?" (Moffatt).

The traditional and current interpretation of this verse, however it may vary in detail, starts from the assumption that *κοινωνία* (communion) means "partaking of."

It appears to be open to the following objections:

1. It is very doubtful whether this is ever the meaning of *κοινωνία*. The primary meaning of the word is "partnership," from which secondary meanings might diverge in two directions. Throwing the emphasis on the persons who are partners we get "fellowship," and a conception approximating to "society." Throwing it upon the field in which the partnership operates, we proceed through "partnership in" and "participating in" to "partaking of." But is this final step really justified? May we thus evacuate the word of its etymological meaning? Have we not illegitimately objectivised the field in which the partnership is realised, and then substituted the field for the partnership? Even in Philippians iii. 10 (*κοινωνίαν παθημάτων αὐτοῦ*), where it is perhaps more tempting than in any other passage to translate "participation in," it is better to hold to "partnership in." There is only one other case (apart from the passage before us) in which the word is followed by what might be the partitive genitive of a concrete noun:

and there (2 Cor. viii. 4) "partnership" is still the better rendering.

2. It is very doubtful whether ἐστίν can be here understood to express factual identity. It might be possible, with the aid of a theory of Transubstantiation, to understand in that way the clause "the bread . . . is it not participating in the body of Christ?" But the same rigorous literalism breaks down in application to the other clause: "the cup . . . is it not participating in the blood?" If we may (as indeed we must) say in this case, the cup *represents* its contents, the wine, then we are at liberty to say that the bread also (not is, but) represents something else.

3. The ritual actions which are described in the two sentences are not only not such as the current interpretation would lead us to expect, they definitely invite attention to other aspects of the rite. St. Paul describes the cup as that which we "bless," the bread as that which "we break." Of course partaking was to follow: but if partaking was to be the central meaning of the rite, why does the Apostle stop at "breaking" and "blessing," and give no hint of the distribution? It looks as though the primary emphasis were upon something else than the partaking.

4. The illustrations of his argument which the Apostle gives in the following verses seem to be inconsistent with the current interpretation of this one. The first (ver. 18) is drawn from the worship of the Jews. They who eat the sacrifices are, or are shown to be, "partners of the altar." They are not said to participate in anything else than the sacrifices which they eat: they realise or exhibit their partnership or fellowship with something else, with something which is symbolised by the altar, probably with the religious society, or people of God. The second illustration is drawn from pagan sacrifice and sacrificial meals, and is precisely parallel with the first. The consequence

of partaking in these which Paul foresees, is that the partakers would become "partners of Demons." It is not that they would thereby participate in demonic life, or even in what was a symbol of it (as the bread and wine might be interpreted as symbols of the divine life of Christ). The effect he fears is that they would become members of a demonic partnership or fellowship. It would appear therefore that it would be a similar effect which he predicated of those partaking of "the Lord's table."

5. It is difficult, if not impossible, to bring the conception of partaking in the blood and body of Christ into harmony with Paul's general view regarding the post-resurrection existence of Christ. Attention has again been directed to this point in a recent article by Professor Easton of Western Theological Seminary. He recalls "the oft-noticed incongruity between the language in 1 Corinthians x. 16 and St. Paul's view of the heavenly body in xv. 50. How can a man be said to have communion with the 'blood' of Christ when blood is precisely one of the most 'natural' of all elements, something that has no part in the kingdom of God, something that Christ laid aside for ever with His 'flesh' when He died? The celestial body of Christ is 'spiritual,' formed of heavenly substance, glorious and free from all traces of 'natural' admixture. The inconsistency here is real."[1] So far from this passage being interpreted in the light of the classical passage in the following chapter, it looks as though we might have to use this one as a criterion for ascertaining the history of that.

These difficulties in the way of the current interpretation may not be all of equal weight, but their cumulative effect is very considerable, and certainly invite a re-consideration of the subject.

[1] B. S. Easton, *St. Paul and the Sacraments: Constructive Quarterly*, March, 1919.

Like so many of the Apostles' deepest sayings this one appears incidentally as an illustration of another matter. The teaching he is seeking to enforce is, Flee from idolatry, and particularly from that veiled form of it which is involved in eating as food what has previously been sacrificed to idols. Why was this rightly recognised as a form of idolatry? Because of what it symbolised, a fellowship with evil spirits. It was just as in the case of Israel and the sacrifices of the Law. By partaking of these the Jews sealed their fellowship with the altar, i.e., with the national and religious life lived under the Divine favour, which was symbolised by the Temple, the sacrifices and the altar. In the same way (and it does not matter whether the idol represents a reality or not) those who offer sacrifices in an idol temple or take part in sacrificial meals do so with the consciousness that the sacrifice has been offered to evil spirits and with the result that they enter into and express a fellowship animated or controlled by them. What a danger lies here for heedless Christians! Let them avoid it at all costs.

Such is the run of the argument for which our verse is to provide an illustration. And if so, we should expect to find the emphasis in verse 16 not on the participating in the materials of the feast, but on the partnership or social consciousness which the feast symbolises and expresses. Towards an interpretation which would be in keeping with this context, and also in harmony with Paul's general conceptions, the following suggestions may be made.

1. The connecting verb *ἐστίν* expresses not factual but symbolic identity: it means "stands for" or "represents." This use of the word by St. Paul is quite sufficiently established by Galatians iv. 24, *αὗται εἰσὶν δύο διαθῆκαι*, "these (women) are two covenants." To force the meaning of factual identity on *εἰσίν* here would be to make Paul write nonsense. He has just said, These things are used as

symbols. The women "are" something which they only represent. So here, the cup we bless, the bread we break, is something which it represents. What Paul means is that it is the symbol of something.

2. The order of the ritual acts here described is not without significance. The cup precedes the loaf. So it does also in verse 21, in Luke (according to the true text) and in the Didaché. The order is therefore not accidental; in the following chapter Paul reverses this order (xi. 23–28) and follows that of Mark. It is possible that just as we find a double tradition regarding the date of the Last Supper, the one connecting it with the Passover, the other probably with the Jewish family ceremony of Kiddûsh on the preceding day, so there were two (? successive) interpretations put upon the rite, the one stressing the Passover idea and the other a different one.[1]

3. The cup "represents a fellowship of the blood." It is common to all the descriptions of the rite in the New Testament that the word "cup" is used where, according to most current interpretations of the rite, the more obvious word would be "wine." The commentators usually content themselves with saying that the cup is put for the wine "by metonymy." But is there not something more here than can be explained by a grammatical formula? May not the explanation be that the cup had a symbolism of its own, lying not in the quality or symbolism of its contents, the wine, but in its being collected together in one vessel?

There is a question here which calls for investigation. In the eucharistic prayer in the Didaché (ix. 1) the prayer to be spoken "touching the cup" runs, "We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of Thy servant David." That is to say, the cup is taken to symbolise not the wine which it contains but the vine. And the vine itself was a well-

[1] See G. H. Box, in *Journal of Theol. Studies*, iii. 357 ff.

known symbol of Israel, as the People of God's possession, of God's care. "Yet I had planted thee, a noble vine" (Jer. ii. 21), expresses a thought which lies behind much imagery in the Old Testament. Among the suggestive qualities which made the vine a natural symbol for Israel were its habit of far-spreading growth, the unity which knit the most distant cluster to the stock and its amazing fruitfulness. The image is elaborated in Psalm lviii., where also two of these points are emphasised. "Thou didst bring a vine out of Egypt. . . . When she had taken root she filled the land. The mountains were covered with the shadow thereof . . . the stock which thy right hand did plant, and the leaves of the bough which thou didst choose" (tr. Cheyne). Moreover, the frequent use of parts of the vine as an emblem on Jewish coins, as well as the colossal golden vine which was, according to Josephus, a prominent object in Herod's Temple, indicate that its symbolism was understood and familiar.[1]

There is reason to think that Psalm lviii. was one in which our Lord found special points of attachment for His thought. His parable of the vineyard was one whose meaning was plain because the imagery was so familiar. Was not His language drawn from the same field of thought when He said, "I am the true, the genuine vine"? He was the centre, the root and the source of life for the new community. He was the embodiment of the new Israel. The setting forth of such ideas under the figure of the vine was the natural continuation of the usage of the Old Testament.[2]

[1] Madden, *Jewish Coinage*, p. 94, cluster (Archelaus); pp. 171 ff. vine-leaf or cluster (Simon son of Gioras).

[2] The identification of the vine as a figure for the Messiah is found in the Targum on Psalm lxxx. 15: "Elohim Zebaoth, oh, turn now again, look from heaven and see, and remember in mercy this vine. And the vine-shoot which thy right hand hath planted, and the King Messiah whom thou hast established for thyself." See Fr. Delitzsch, in Expositor, Third Series, iii. p. 69.

The consciousness of being the new Israel, Israel according to faith, was strong in the primitive Church. The prayer in the Didaché gives thanks over the cup "for the vine of thy servant David, which thou hast made known unto us by thy servant Jesus." The vine had been the symbol of Israel's unity and fruitfulness. Christ had presented Himself under the same figure. It appears to be a sound inference that the primary significance of the cup lay in its representing the common life of the new People of God.

There is a curious and possibly illuminating parallel in Ignatius ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.[1] This, as Lightfoot says, is doubtless suggested by 1 Corinthians xi. 16, 17, If that be so, Ignatius understood κοινωνία in the sense we desire to give to it—fellowship, not partaking of. And his language presents the same difficulty as our passage in respect of the genitive which follows, ἕνωσιν (κοινωνία) τοῦ αἵματος. We must bear in mind also the words of institution as reported in 1 Corinthians xi. 25, τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι. In view of the extraordinary plasticity of Paul's use of the genitive, and bearing in mind the parallels, may we not render "a fellowship sealed by his blood"?

4. There is little difficulty in commending a similar translation for the second clause. The bread (or rather, loaf) which we break, does it not represent a fellowship of the Body of Christ (*scil.* the Church)? For it is doubtful whether Paul ever uses the phrase σῶμα Χριστοῦ, without further qualification, in any other sense. When he wishes to refer specifically to our Lord's natural body, he is careful to make his meaning clear by adding τῆς σαρκός.

There would appear to have been a special significance attaching to the loaf prior to and independent of the signi-

[1] Ignatius, *Phil.* iv. The Syriac version gives the equivalent of *concordiæ*.

ficance of the partaking. Consisting of so many separate grains, gathered from so many different ears of corn, possibly from such widely distant fields, it was offered to the gaze of the worshippers as a moving symbol of the unity into which they had so wondrously been brought. Once more the eucharistic prayers in the Didaché seem to preserve the memory of this element in the rite. There the officiant is instructed to offer thanks concerning the loaf (literally, the breaking, or the broken thing) as follows: "We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy Son. . . . Even as this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, and having been gathered together has been made one, so may Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth."

Here the loaf is obviously regarded as a symbol of the unity which has been established, and a pledge of the continuance of the same process.

It is true that some scholars would dispute this inference from the prayer in the Didaché, on the ground that the reference is wholly or mainly eschatological.[1] But is it correct to describe any element in the Christian consciousness of the first century as wholly eschatological? Is not the fact rather that the strength of the eschatological hope in any of its forms was due to a present experience of a related kind? It was because men had the Spirit as "firstfruits" that they were so sure of a spiritual Kingdom, of its coming or of their entrance into it. It was because they had "tasted of the powers of the world to come" that they had the strong hope entering in to that within the veil. And similarly the hope and prayer for a gathering together in one of all the scattered people of God sprang out of, and was grounded on, the experience of the gathering

[1] E.g. E. F. Scott, *Beginning of the Church*, p. 52.

and uniting power of the Spirit, on the fact of the *κοινωνία* in which the most heterogeneous elements were bound together in a sacred society.[1]

An allusion in the literature of a century later confirms the view that the prayer is not to be regarded as wholly eschatological in its outlook, and at the same time gives evidence of the survival of this significance in the Eucharist. In a letter on the subject, which is interesting for many reasons, Cyprian remarks: "in which very sacrament our people are shown to be made one: so that in like manner as many grains are collected and mixed together in one mass, and make one loaf, so in Christ we may know that there is one body with which our number is joined and united."[2]

The loaf therefore represented the common life of the community, not merely the common natural life, but the common life that belonged to it as the Body of Christ, life spiritual and eternal. In that sense it represented the "bread from heaven." Broken and distributed it set forth the truth that the partakers, though shortly to be separated, would continue to live the spirit-life, nourished by spiritual food which was common to all. The Cup symbolised the same fellowship, but with a different emphasis. It emphasised the privilege of the Fellowship as a Partnership in the new covenant established by Christ and sealed by His blood.

If it be objected, as it very naturally may be, that this interpretation is difficult to reconcile with the traditional and natural interpretation of the passage in the following chapter, the answer is that we may be called upon to recognise within the New Testament itself traces of a double tradition on the subject. Such traces are unmistakeable as

[1] "The point is well made by Joh. Weiss, *Urchristentum*, p. 342: "Auch bei Paulus zeigt sich das durchs ganze Urchristentum hindurchgehende Nebeneinander von Gegenwartsfreudigkeit und kühnem Zukunftsglauben."

[2] Cyprian, *Ep.* lxii.

to the details of the Institution. That difference connotes a distinction, if not in the elements of interpretation at least in the emphasis placed on one or other of these elements. In the passage before us the Apostle seems to be claiming for the Eucharist the function of expression and confirming the triumphant sense of unity which was the prerogative of the Body of Christ.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

THE RELIGIOUS MEANING OF 1 PETER V. 5.

If we were to be asked to put our finger upon the most non-Hellenic expression in the New Testament, omitting cases which are confessedly Aramaic loan-words, such as occur in the Gospels, we could hardly be far from the mark in pointing to the expression ἐγκομβώσασθαι in the last chapter of the first Epistle of Peter; for although the word has a Greek prefix, and the terminations of a regularly inflected Greek verb, it is palpably not Greek at all, and has long been challenged as an insufficiently naturalised alien, and the challenge has never been fairly met. Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, an omnivorous reader, and as sound a critic as the Greek Church ever produced, tried to meet it; for instance, he referred to the Petrine use of it as a proof that it was genuine Greek, which was a *petitio principii;* he went further, for his own credit's sake, and drew attention to fragments of two lost Greek writers, Epicharmus and Apollodorus, who employ the verb in question and throw light upon its meaning. It is not to be assumed that Photius had read these authors; he went to his lexicons and found the references, which have also been used by Suidas, and the *Etymologicum Magnum.* So far the word was justified; more than this, it was also located, on the hypothesis that both of the writers referred to were Sicilians. Photius does not say so much, for he agreed with Suidas that the Apollodorus in question was Apollodorus Carystius, who was consequently a native of Euboea. Let us, for a moment, assume that the word has been tracked to Sicily, some centuries B.C. It has consequently been described as Sicilian Greek. What is Sicilian Greek? We might as well say openly that it is not Greek at all, but a loan-word from some unknown quarter, current in a Greek

colony. Where was the loan contracted, and what does the word mean? Here we find ourselves again in difficulties: the uncanny word resists interpretation, the passage in which it occurs becomes a *crux interpretum*. Underneath the word lies another word which should dictate the sense; but when we excavate the root κόμβος and ask its derivation, we are again at a loss. It is certainly not Greek: its traditional meaning is that of *a knot* or *a band*. How did it come to have that meaning? The etymologists do not seem to have solved that problem, though they have made many attempts to find linguistic and philological parallels. For instance, Bugge suggested that it was related to a dialectical word in Norwegian, which he gives as *hempa*: if this were correct, the Norwegian word must be our *hemp*; and we should have the suggestion that κόμβος was a "hempen cord or band," named from its material. But we must not move too fast: let us say that it is a loan-word in Greek, which probably means *a band*.

When we ask for the interpretation of the Petrine verb, and its associated ἐγκόμβωμα, we have to turn to the classical discussion of the passage by C. E. A. Fritzsche, which is summed up for us as follows by Thayer in his lexicon: "The ἐγκόμβωμα was the white scarf or apron of slaves which was fastened to the girdle of the vest (ἐξωμίς) and distinguished slaves from freemen; hence 1 Peter v. 5 . . . gird yourselves with humility as your servile garb . . . i.e., by putting on humility show your subjection one to another. That this idea lies in the phrase is shown by G. E. A. Fritzsche with his usual learning in *Fritzschiorum Opuscc.* p. 259 sq." It certainly is a very learned study and has dominated the exegesis of the passage. We must not any longer be content with the translation "be clothed with humility," the clothing is servile in Fritzsche's view, and is not properly clothing but some appendage to clothing, an

apron in the thought of some writers. Moffatt, for instance, will render the passage thus:

"You must all put on *the apron* of humility to serve one another."

Something as if the Apostle had said, "Tuck up your sleeves," or with a privative conception for the positive one, "take off your coats." No sufficient reason has been found for turning the "band" into an "apron," and we must go further afield in search of the meaning. At all events it is clear that neither Photius the patriarch, nor Fritzsche the Patristic scholar, has whitewashed the Petrine language so as to make it pass for Greek. The meaning still eludes us and so does the language. All that we are sure of is that such a quaint word, introduced so abruptly, must have been picked up out of the Petrine environment. Its meaning lies somewhere in the region of domestic economy, or in the realm of religion. Let us see if further linguistic research, such as was not possible to Photius or Fritzsche, will elucidate the meaning.

Returning to Bugge's suggestion that the word κόμβος might be related to a Norwegian form *hempa*, we remarked that in that case the "band" would be "hempen." Now the word "hemp" is a loan-word in all European languages, and is closely related to the Greek κάνναβις as may easily be seen. In that case κόμβος would have to be a variant form of κάνναβις. What do we know of the plant called *hemp* and its travels and various names?

If we were to write down side by side the two English words

hemp *and* canvas

no one but an expert would suspect that we had written the same word twice over. They have not a single letter in common! Suppose we replace *hemp* by its German equivalent *hanf* or its still earlier German form *hanaf* and write *canvas* in its early spelling *canevas*, in which it came across from

France, we can see the two words drawing together; and that both of them are related to the Greek *κάνναβις* (*κάνναβος*). The word reached Great Britain by two routes, one from the North of Europe, the other from Greece *viâ* Italy. The plant is a migrant which has entered Europe by two different routes. Where did it come from?

Not from Egypt: for not a single fibre of hempen material has turned up amongst the wrappings of mummies and elsewhere. Not from Palestine, for the word is unknown in Hebrew. It occurs in Arabic, in Persian, in Turkish, in modern Syriac: here are some interesting evidences on the point. In Arabic the name is *qinnab* or *qunnab*, which is evidently derived from the same source as *κάνναβις*. In Persian we refer to Steingass' Persian Dictionary to find

> *qinnab, qunnab* (Arab.): *qamb* (Pehlevi): Hemp: a hempen rope.

Note that the *rope* takes the name of its material. The same thing may be noted in Barbier de Meynard's Turkish-French Dictionary.

> *qanab.* chanvre, *et surtout* corde de chanvre:

(both *qanab* and *chanvre* are again the very same word, though the dictionary does not seem to be aware of the fact).

> Les Turcs se servent de préférence pour désigner le chanvre des termes *kènèvir* et *kendir.*

(Kènèvir is again very near to *κάνναβις* and to the French *chanvre.*)

Thus the word is well known in Western Asia, but there is no reason to make it Semitic: for there is evidence that it came into Greece from quite another quarter, and it was from the same quarter that it passed into Mesopotamia and Persia. The evidence is partly historical and partly philological.

From Herodotus we have a discussion of the use of hemp by the Scythians: he tells that hemp grows in their country,

very like flax except that it is coarser and bigger. It grows wild as well as from seed. From it the Thracians have learnt to make garments like linen: a person who was not an expert would hardly know one from the other (see Herod. iv. 74).

So the *κάνναβις* came into Greece later than the time of Herodotus: it came from Scythia *viâ* Thrace. So much for the historical evidence. The philological evidence is very curious, if not quite so certain, but leads in the same direction. It is Schrader's contribution to the subject to point out that *κάνναβις* can be resolved into two Tartar words of related tribes, the first of which, *kene*, means *hemp*, the second means *nettle*. Apparently the fibre of nettles was used before the discovery of hemp, and when hemp came into use it was known as a discovery of nettle, on account of its fibre. Thus we are taken to South Russia, to the Caucasus and to the Caspian. This is also the direction in which botanical research leads us. For the plant grows wild in Siberia, South of the Caspian and in South Russia. Enough has been said to show the origin of the migrating plant and its migrating names. As we have said, it came into North Europe and into South Europe by different routes. It was in Germany at an early date, for the German form *hanf* has already undergone a sound-shifting: it had reached the Rhône Valley, on the other hand, by the third century B.C., for Athenæus tells us that Hiero II. imported thence into Sicily the ropes and sails (?) for a great ship that he was building.[1] The place-names of France will perhaps show the line of its migration: for instance, there is Chambéry and Cambray to consider; and perhaps some related forms. Returning to our text, the question is still somewhat unsettled as to whether *κόμβος* is really

[1] See Hehn, *Kulturpfl.*, 188 seq. Real-Lex. s.v. *Hanf*, pp. 30 seq. Hoops, *Waldbäume u. Kulturpfl.*, p. 472 seq.

a variant form of *κάνναβις*, but it certainly looks like it. If we are on the right track, it is not an apron that is to be put on by the humble Christian, but a rope or waistband, perhaps a knotted rope or band.

Now let us turn to the religious side of the question. The *ἐγκόμβωμα* or *κόμβος* was shown by Fritzsche to have servile connotations, and this discovery was in harmony with the admonition of the Apostle. The question is raised whether the early Christians to whom the Apostle wrote were aware of such an interpretation of the waistband or rope, and whether they were aware of it from their own experience by wearing such a band themselves, or by their own observation as they noted its religious use by others. To put it another way, are we dealing with a mere casual observation based on a slave's dress, or is the dress itself religious and hence to be interpreted ethically ?

At this point we observe that the use of a girdle, belt rope or waistband is part of the religious apparatus of the East. The dervishes wear it, the Nestorians use it at prayer and the Parsees do the same. We shall, moreover, show that the Nestorians and Parsees both employ the sacred girdle allegorically, and that the explanation which is made is substantially the same in the two cases.

We will begin with the Nestorians. If we refer to Abdisho's book, *The Pearl*, which deals with the doctrines and ceremonies and sacraments of the Church, we shall find a special section given to the *Zonarion* and its use in prayer. The writer discourses on it as follows :

" The Christian custom of girding the loins at the time of prayer is, as it were, a *preparation for service*, since we are in the sight of God as those who stand before an earthly king to discharge their duty. . . .

" There are three reasons why we gird the loins : the first because the *slaves and officials of an earthly king* go for-

ward girded in order to *indicate their service* and their ministry. The second is that it is a precept of our Saviour so to do ('let your loins be girded, etc.') to denote watchfulness of mind, purity of thought and the expectation of the bridegroom's return from the wedding.

"The third reason is, because a man with his loins girt suggests death ('another shall gird thee, etc.'). For those who go on a journey gird up their loins: . . . and we who are pilgrims ought to prepare for our journey. . . . The preparation consists in a knowledge of *the true doctrine* and in *the practice of good works*."

In these terms, then, Abdisho expounds the mystery of the prayer-girdle.

Now let us turn to the Parsees.

The modern Parsee is invested symbolically with a sacred girdle. In Moulton's recently published *Treasury of the Magi* (p. 161) we have an account of the putting of the sacred cord upon a child. "The regulations for its manufacture, which is a prerogative of women of priestly family, are very minute, and every detail is a most excellent mystery."

This sacred cord is called *Kusti*, and Moulton suggests that the fact that the sacred girdle is as conspicuous in Hinduism and Buddhism as in Parsi religion implies that it is an *institution of Indo-Iranian antiquity*.

All kinds of symbolic explanations are given of the tying and untying of the knots of the *kusti*.

Thus Dr. Modi (cited by Moulton, p. 164), says: "The knots are said to symbolise certain religious and moral thoughts. While performing the first half of the first knot in the front, a Zoroastrian must think that Ahura Mazda (God) exists, that He is One, that He is holy and matchless. While forming the second half of the first knot, he must remember that the Zoroastrian religion is the word of God, and that he must have full faith in it. While forming the

first half of the second knot at the back, he is to remember that Zoroaster is the prophet of God, that he is the guide, and that he shows the proper path of worship. While forming the second half of the second knot, he is to bear in mind that he always attends to '*good thoughts, good words and good deeds.*' A knot symbolises a resolution. So these knots of the sacred thread symbolise resolutions for the abovesaid thoughts."

This is a modern way of explaining the ceremonies of putting on the *kusti :* but it will have an ancient basis just as the *kusti* itself has an ancient history. For the tying of knots is a part of primitive magic.

Now let us see how the matter is explained in the Pahlavi treatise *Dadestan-i-Dini.* This work (see Moulton *ad hoc*) finds a triple symbolism in the *kusti*, just as the Nestorians do in their prayer-girdle.

" First to tie the *kamar-band* (cummer-bund or waistband) is a regular phrase for making ready for work : it is like that Old Testament idiom ' girding up the loins.' So the kusti symbolises a man's readiness to stand with loins girt *in readiness to serve God.*

" Secondly, a belt is a badge of office when a man stands to receive orders from a superior, even so is the *kusti* a badge reminding the wearer that he *stands with all humiliation* (quaere *humility*) *before his God* to receive his orders.

" Thirdly, the waist-girdle divides the body in two, separating the upper from the lower part. The thought is suggested that man must keep his lower self down, and not let it master the higher and nobler self."

Here we have again a triple symbolism which shows points of contact with the Nestorian explanations and suggests to us that the latter religion has come into contact with the former and been influenced by it.

Equally striking is the parallelism between the Pahlavi

and Nestorian mysticism and the language of St. Peter. Here, too, we have the same thought of subjection to superiors, of readiness for service, and of the right attitude before God. "Be subject, younger men, to the elder. All of you wear the knotted girdle of humility, for God resists the proud and gives grace to the humble."

So we suggest that Peter is not speaking of slaves and their aprons, but of the symbolic dress of a religious man. It is even possible that the early Christians may have had, at least in some districts, such a symbolic dress or girdle. The nearest parallel in western life would be the ceremony of the belting of a *knight* for his service. In Eastern circles, as we have intimated, the language of the epistle would hardly need a commentary, or if it were needed, the streets of ancient Babylon or of modern Bombay could supply it.

The object of the present paper is to suggest a better explanation than the current one for a New Testament word, and by means of such an explanation to give an added air of reality to the closing verses of the first epistle of Peter.

RENDEL HARRIS.

'DEVELOPMENT' OF DOCTRINE.

'DEVELOPMENT,' as applied to theological doctrine, is a term which connotes several distinguishable processes, sometimes one and sometimes another of which is uppermost in the minds of those who use it; and various conceptions as to the nature of development, largely mediated by analogies with what the word signifies in other sciences than theology, have prevailed at different times and in different schools of thought. It may be useful, therefore, to differentiate its several possible meanings, or to analyse its composite meaning into its constituent ingredients. This task has indeed been undertaken somewhat recently, though incidentally and not quite completely, in the earlier chapters of Tyrrell's *Christianity at the Cross-Roads*, where will be found a careful and illuminating discussion of development in doctrine such as deserves the gratitude of theological students. The two notions of evolution which figure in the history of biology, viz., preformation and epigenesis, are contrasted in that work, and the implications of a concept of doctrinal development fashioned after the one and the other of these types are pointed out; dialectical development, as conceived in terms of logical implication and deduction, is distinguished; and the bearing of the distinction between the potential and the actual, the implicit and the explicit, upon the question of the growth of doctrine, is to some extent discussed.

But besides biology and logic, sciences to which Tyrrell appeals for analogies, there is another field of knowledge, viz. psychology, in which the terms 'implicit' and 'explicit' are used, and used in a technical sense; and in this particular usage, which escaped the notice of the author of *Christianity at the Cross-Roads*, is perhaps to be

sought the analogy that is richest in promise of help for the understanding of what 'development' in one of its most important aspects should mean when we speak of development of doctrine. Moreover, there is a good reason why psychology rather than biology should throw the fuller light on what is primarily meant by 'development of doctrine.' For doctrines differ from organisms in an obvious but important respect which should be borne in mind when we compare the transition from a doctrine in the germ to its elaborated or matured form with the process suggested by 'preformation' or that connoted by 'epigenesis.' Organisms exist independently of human minds; they live and move, grow and multiply, undergo variation as individuals and selection in the struggle for existence, quite apart from their being objects of human knowledge and from the processes of our thought. Development of individual organisms from their embryonic stage is an actual process, and development can therefore be predicated of them with perfect literalness and not merely rhetorically. Doctrines, on the other hand, owe their very being to human thought. Such being or subsistence as they have is not being-for-self, existence in time and space. Doctrines are not individuals with life-histories, do not grow like animals and plants, do not expand and modify themselves by assimilation of elements from their environment, do not undergo variation. Like all thoughts and items of knowledge, they only 'exist' in human minds. It is only in human minds that the actual change takes place which constitutes growth of doctrine. One product of human minds (a matured doctrine) is substituted for another (a germinal doctrine) with abruptness, no matter how chronologically soon the substitution takes place; the gradualness, the continuity, of process is in the thought of the thinkers. Development can only be predicated

figuratively, therefore, of doctrine; literally, it is predicable solely of the mind, the mental activity and output, of theologians. That is the actual concrete fact for which the phrase 'development of doctrine' is the metonymical expression. Of course we are all aware of this when we reflect on the matter; and our usual figurative hypostatisation of doctrine, involved in talk about its growth and development, is harmless enough. Attention has been invited for the moment to so obvious a truth only with a view to emphasising the probability that, inasmuch as the growth of doctrine is a psychological process, it is from mental development, and more especially from the transition from implicit to explicit apprehension which is one particular case of mental development, that we shall derive the most helpful and illuminating analogy wherewith to conceive how the development which we rhetorically attribute to doctrine should be construed.

What, then, do 'implicit' and 'explicit' respectively mean, as technical terms in psychological science? The answer to this question admits of being simply and concisely stated. Professor Stout, who seems to have been the first to introduce these terms into currency, uses the phrase 'implicit apprehension' to denote the apprehension of any whole without discernment of its parts; and I presume he would sanction its extension so far as to include apprehension of an object without discernment of its relations to other objects. Such experience is of course common in adult life, while it is inevitable in the mental life of the child, for whom at first the external world is, in the picturesque language of William James, "a buzzing confusion"; and development of experience consists in progressive differentiation of what is presented to consciousness as a continuum. Similarly Professor Mitchell, in his interesting work *Structure and Growth of Mind*, states that the implicit

is what is thought, but not thought about. The child apprehends his hoop, for instance, as a whole, though when absorbed in the bowling of it he does not discern as such its several qualities of rigidity, circularity, etc., or think explicitly of its velocity. Multiplicity tends, we may say, to emerge within the one whole, and it does so whenever opportunity is given for its emergence. It is there, in the object; it awaits that recognition which will ensue when attention shall pass from the moving hoop as a whole to its shape, weight, and speed, and the yet fuller recognition which will only be possible when the child shall have learned something of the sciences of geometry and the properties of matter. Such further experience will enable increasing explicitness of apprehension of what was at first implicitly apprehended. Thoughts, then, are implicit or explicit according as their objects are severally attended to or not. We have an implicit thought of an object, whether it be a quality of a material body or part of the meaning of a verbal proposition, when that object is not distinguished as such, or differentiated, or attended to on its own account with interest and understanding. There are cases, as in early childhood, in which such attention is necessarily precluded; cases in adult life in which implicit thought can be made explicit at will; and yet other cases in which explication of the implicit is impossible without wider knowledge in general. The words 'implicit' and 'explicit,' as used in psychology, do not apply to thoughts or ideas as mere events in the mind, as historical facts or happenings, or to their causal efficiency; they apply to thoughts only in respect of their cognitive functions, their meaning and truth, or to ideas in so far as they are instruments of knowledge. And conception, as distinguished from perception from which it is an outgrowth, consists in making explicit the connexions implicitly and vaguely known in the simpler

stages of perception. We learn to make a distinction where all the time there has been a difference.

The difference between the implicit in this psychological sense and the implied, or the implicit in the sense in which logic uses the term, will scarcely need pointing out. Implication, in the logical sense, is a relation between different propositions, not between degrees of attention and their contents; only a proposition can imply, or be implied by, another; and implication is concerned with truth: a proposition A is said to imply a proposition B when, if A is true, then B is true. A proposition which I believe, may conceivably imply—in the logical sense—a proposition which I may happen to disbelieve; but belief (believing) on my part in the latter proposition is not in any sense implicit in my belief in the former; more attention alone to the former will not necessarily cause me to see the truth of the latter. In talking of implicit belief, therefore, it is important to distinguish between belief as the act or process of believing, and belief as the objective proposition believed in, in that process. Dialectical or logical implication is applicable only to the proposition believed in, to the object of belief; psychological explication of the implicit is applicable only to the experience, the act or process of consciousness of a thinking subject. In what sense, and to what extent, logical deduction of the implied is involved in what is collectively described as development of doctrine, will be touched upon later; but the process which has historically constituted to the largest extent what is generally meant by theological development is that of explication of the implicit. The rhetorical device by which one word is used metonymically for another, and the convenient abstraction of doctrine from doctors, have perhaps contributed to the tendency to conceive development in theology in terms of logical and biological rather

than psychological categories, though the former are really less adequate for the purpose. But if development of doctrine is essentially conservation of original truth with change of form or expression, if it is to be distinguished from immutability on the one hand and from alteration or 'secularisation' on the other, it would seem that in the main it is to be regarded as fuller, more definite, explicit apprehension by human minds of fact or truth which at first was apprehended more or less implicitly. "In the main," because other processes to some extent enter in, as will presently be observed. But being thus chiefly a psychological process, it cannot be analogically interpreted, with congruity or with recognition of its salient characteristics, by comparison with cases of *self-explication* such as independent organisms present.

In the light of these remarks, which of course announce no new discovery, we may proceed to examine the various ways in which development of doctrine has been conceived at various periods in the history of the Church, with a view to estimating their degrees of adequacy or inadequacy; and we may continue to follow the guidance of *Christianity at the Cross-Roads*.

As Tyrrell points out, the conception of orthodoxy and authority which prevailed in the patristic age was one which, if taken seriously, found no room for the idea of development in any form such as he subsequently discusses. Doctrines and institutions, generally assumed or believed (as the case might be) to have been delivered by Christ to the Apostles, were supposed to have been given with the form of completeness and finality, admitting neither of alteration, nor of increment, nor—Tyrrell implies—of development. These doctrines constituted, for the fathers, a deposit once delivered to the saints to be kept, an heirloom to be guarded and transmitted without mutilation, mis-

representation, or addition. Athanasius (*De Synodis*, i. 35) is sometimes quoted in this sense, as saying that the Council of Nicæa wrote not 'it seemed good' but 'thus believes the Catholic Church,' and therefore confessed how they believed in order to shew that their own views were not novel but apostolical, and that what they laid down was no discovery on their part, but identical with what was taught by the apostles. Thus it was implied that the function of a general council was not to discuss questions that were in any way open, but to state in what way questions had already for ever been closed. Novelty was the criterion of heresy, apostolicity the criterion of orthodoxy. And what was apostolic was to be known solely by tradition, by appeal to the collective 'memory' of the Church—'memory' being of course understood to be used here in an inaccurate sense, for memory proper and history or tradition are really different things. This view finds its ripe expression in the Vincentian canon, *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, though this canon would need to be reduced to *quod semper* if appeal were made to a *disciplina arcani* as applied to teaching. And the view would leave no room for development even of the dialectical or logical form. Revelation had been explicitly apprehended, in all its fulness, by the Church from the first; no deductions had escaped the mind of the apostles to be drawn by later generations and to be added to what was *de fide*. The Spirit's office of guiding to all truth was conceived as exhausted in bringing to remembrance ('remembrance' being interpreted loosely, as in the case of 'memory' alluded to above), what Christ and the apostles had taught.

That this view (that non-developing orthodoxy obtained rigidly in the patristic age) covers some nine-tenths of the facts, may be admitted. But there is reason to doubt

whether Tyrrell was correct in assuming that it covers quite all the facts. As we have seen, he fails to recognise the psychological analogy in terms of which development may be conceived; and it is possible to believe that some tincture of the idea of development, in the sense of transition from implicit to explicit apprehension of theological truth, entered—at least implicitly—into the thought of the early fathers. It is hard otherwise to imagine the contents of the mind of Athanasius, for example, when he contended for the usage of the non-scriptural—and therefore, presumably, the non-apostolic—term ὁμοούσιος. Here surely is an instance of explication of what, if original and apostolic truth, was only original and apostolic in so far as it was implicit. Further, the rôle of a general council could hardly have been regarded in the patristic age explicitly as excluding the exercise of the logical or dialectical faculty altogether, as would seem to be implied in Tyrrell's unqualified definition of that rôle as conceived by the fathers in contradistinction to the schoolmen. Elimination of heresies such as Arianism certainly involved logical disputation as well as witness to tradition; that the heresy was not contained in, but was inconsistent with, the orthodox tradition, needed to be proved; and indeed much controversy preceded each new definition of what was already *de fide*. At any rate, whether the fathers were aware of it or not, transition from the apostolic implicit to the patristic explicit did take place in the early centuries; and that it took place altogether without the awareness of the theologians concerned, though they had not our psychological terms and ideas with which to articulate their awareness to themselves, is not proven. If this be granted, Tyrrell is here convicted of some exaggeration.

But if the 'old orthodoxy,' in spite of its tendency to emphasise unduly the element of unchangingness in

doctrinal formulation, was not without some glimmering of the idea of transition from the implicit to the explicit, we may agree with Tyrrell that when at a later age (the scholastic) the Church was aware of development in its doctrine, that development was identified rather with logical deduction of implied truth. The method of Aquinas was to assert, as premises whose validity called for no question or proof, sayings of Scripture, of the fathers, and of Aristotle; and then, by the application of scholastic logic, to deduce their implied consequences. Thus the gospel was expanded into the *Summa*. Here, of course, development becomes, not indeed avowedly, but to us manifestly, 'secularisation.' It was not professed that the premises were wholly apostolic or even patristic; they were partly Greek metaphysic. Patristic developments are often questionable because of the questionableness of the Platonic logic and categories of which the fathers generally made use; but the complex logic of the schoolmen is abundantly more so. However, that was not the opinion of the schoolmen; and for them development consisted in logical explication of the logically implicit or implied. Had they been in the position to make use of the biological conceptions of evolution which were not forthcoming till a later day, the schoolmen would doubtless have described the development which doctrine was undergoing at their hands in terms of preformation; whereas we, who neither regard Aristotle's philosophy as final nor medieval logic as sound in method, would unhesitatingly assign that development to the type called epigenesis, and indeed declare it to have been determined more largely by assimilation of the external environment than by eduction from the germ.

Logical deduction of implications or corollaries from original propositions may conceivably enter into theo-

logical development; and certainly, as we have seen, it needs to be employed in the negative side of the process —the rejection of error. But a theory of development embracing the facts of the patristic period which would identify development with deduction merely, cannot, as Tyrrell observed, bear examination. Not only, however, has such a view been held in some quarters; it has been attempted to apply it to beliefs, in the 'subjective' sense of that word. Though Aquinas did not actually believe the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, it has been maintained that, inasmuch as his premises really implied it, he was no heretic on the question. But objects of belief are one thing, and personal states of belief, another; and on the view now under consideration heresy of any kind would be a logical impossibility. Not only Aquinas, but also Arius and even the atheist, would escape all charge of heretical taint. Moreover the theory that development consists in logical deduction of implications' besides reducing general councils to debating societies, and ascribing infallibility to the logical understanding, entirely overlooks the fact that the fathers were employed rather with the meanings of original propositions or beliefs, and with ascertaining these meanings by appeal to continuous tradition, than with deducing consequences, foreseen or not, from apostolic statements.

And this fact leads us to recognise another feature of doctrinal development which is not included in either logical deduction or explication of the implicit. I refer to the removal of ambiguity. It was expressly contended by the Nicene party that resort to technical non-scriptural terms had become absolutely necessary in order to find expressions which Arianism could not wrest to its own purposes or adopt with its own interpretation. No scriptural phraseology could be found which, from the purely

logical point of view, was sufficiently unambiguous to preclude appropriation in an Arian sense. Thus the introduction into the Creed of phrases such as ὁμοούσιος and ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας . . . was motived by the necessity to rule out ambiguity and mischievous vagueness, and to obtain universal language in which to express the meaning of the affirmation of Christ's deity. Now ambiguity is not a synonym for the vagueness which attaches to, and indeed characterises, all implicit apprehension. The (psychologically) implicit is vague in the sense of lacking precision or definiteness, but not in the sense of having more than one possible explication, more than one meaning. And development, such as we see effected in the Creed of Nicæa, cannot adequately be described as explication of the implicit, any more than as accomplished deduction of the implied; it is also definition in the sense of selection of one meaning out of several possible, the reduction of ambiguity to univocal statement. All determination is negation, as Spinoza taught; or, in Mill's way of putting the matter, a thing is only seen to be what it is, when it is clearly distinguished from what it is not. Development in doctrine consists partly in the making plain what is not meant by an original belief, as well as in making explicit what in the original belief was but implicitly or vaguely apprehended. The two processes are complementary, and have in history accompanied one another; but they are distinguishable factors of development. Several clauses in our creeds largely owe their meaning to the fact that they are negations of heresy, and more remotely, statements devised for the removal of ambiguity.

We turn now to the biological ideas which have so frequently been used to explain doctrinal development. The older, and now obsolete, idea of the evolution of an organism from its germ, is that which is involved in the theory of

preformation: a theory first repudiated by Harvey, but not replaced in scientific literature until the eighteenth century. According to this view, all parts of the adult animal or plant are present, already perfect though on a minute scale, in the germ; and development consists in the 'unfolding' of them in such sense that they emerge expanded or enlarged through growth which involves no change save increase in size. The theory still survives, though in a much modified form, in the hypotheses as to ontogeny propounded respectively by Darwin, Galton, and Weismann, according to which each member of the adult is represented in the germ by particles or a definite region of the germ. The yet simpler analogue of a cloak or a leaf folded and unfolded, where there is not even growth in the sense of enlargement, has sometimes been used in description of theological development. But it is impossible to derive from this crude metaphor any enlightenment as to the meaning of development as applied to doctrine. There is no respect whatever in which development of doctrine can resemble the unfolding of a cloak, a process in which there is no change even in size, but only in spatial arrangement; the figure would apply better, if it have any application at all, to the view just now mentioned as attributed by Tyrrell to the fathers, viz. of non-development or unchangingness. And preformation, taken literally, and apart from its implication of absorption of matter from the environment, is not really a much more appropriate analogue. The essence of the idea of evolution of the preformed is simply enlargement; and this, carried over into doctrine, could correspond merely to more verbose paraphrasing of what was originally stated with conciseness, with no addition of meaning or refinement in the way of definition. And doctrinal development, whatever else it may be, is certainly not a mere substitution of prolixity for terseness.

The 'preformation' idea of biologists really corresponds better with the view that doctrine has not developed at all.

The notion of evolution as epigenesis, however, lends itself in some respects for the use of theologians. According to the view that ontogeny is an epigenesis, the organism is not an educt from the germ, but a product of the interaction of germ with environment. Growth into the adult is growth out of the embryo; and it involves assimilation or appropriation of matter from without which, along with the germ-stuff, contributes to the final form. Here there is a true analogy; for a developed doctrine is necessarily a conceptualised perception, and conception involves, for its perfection, definite categories, which cannot wholly be created by theology or primitive religious experience, but are borrowed (perhaps with some modification) from current philosophy. According to the theory of epigenesis, again, the acorn *alone* is not the potential oak; it does not possess the potency of growing into a tree, apart from certain conditions of environment, and without much assimilation of inorganic material. These biological facts, then, admit of translation into theology; and so also does the truth that the acorn and the oak are one and the same individual in spite of difference and change. The danger of the analogy between development of doctrine and epigenesis, is that it is suggestive of more changeableness than orthodox theology may welcome, whereas preformation was suggestive of far too little. In this respect it differs essentially from the psychological analogy with explication of the implicit. But whether it is not on that account really a more faithful representation of fact, is a matter of opinion and dispute; or, in other words, opinions differ as to whether, in the transformation which doctrine has in the course of history actually undergone, there is not more or less of "secularisation" or appropriation of alien and

non-essential elements, as well as unfolding of what was implicitly present from the first. Certainly development of thought involves assimilation of new experience, in its advance to more adequate conceptions of reality; and there is analogy between such development and the give and take betwixt organism and environment. So far, comparison with epigenesis is fruitful. It ceases to be useful when we are confronted with the question as to the precise relation of interpretative and explicating categories to original germ or implicit truth. But if once we regard these categories as form rather than matter, as explicating instruments rather than implicit and intrinsic elements of the data, it becomes natural to see in them changeable or replaceable factors in dogmatic formulation. They are capable of being superseded from age to age, with advantage to the explication of the implicit; and, this being so, it would seem that to-day restatement is preferable to reinterpretation with retention of ancient and obsolete phraseology.

On Newman's particular theory of development, it is not necessary to enlarge. Newman, like S. Vincent of Lérins, made use of the analogy with organic development; but whatever he may have said, his meaning is not essentially different from that of his forerunner. He wrote, moreover, as if he felt himself under the eye of the scholastically-minded Roman theologians. His view of development may be called a hybrid between those in which doctrinal evolution is compared with logical deduction and with epigenesis respectively. For though he admitted real growth and transformation in the embodiment of primitive truth, yet even such development as he allowed was not free, but controlled by an infallible authority (which he did not see had itself been a product of development); and he conceived the historical development unhistorically. One

cannot regard Newman's theory, therefore, as making any valuable contribution to the description of what development historically has been, or to the definition of what the word 'development' should mean.

To sum up the results of such analytical inquiry as has here been undertaken, we may say that development of doctrine includes (i.) the psychological explication of implicitly apprehended truth, involving transition from the vague to the clearly and definitely cognised, and effected largely through concentration of attention upon what had previously not been discerned and by means of concepts or categories assimilated from without: here is the analogue to epigenesis; (ii.) the removal of ambiguity, through conflict with heresy and necessity of choosing between logically possible alternatives; (iii.) the logical deduction of consequences implied in premises or data—a relatively small ingredient in development as a composite process.

F. R. TENNANT.

THE ORIGINAL CONCLUSION OF MARK.

In a brief but suggestive paper Canon Ayles has recently called attention to the problem presented by the fragmentary ending of the Gospel of Mark, and pointed out that much at least of what is wanting there can be recovered from the closing paragraphs of Matthew. This seems to me to admit of no doubt; in fact I should be disposed to go somewhat further in this direction than Canon Ayles has done. His effort to recover a part of the missing original ending of Mark from the present Long Conclusion, however, strikes me as decidedly less convincing.

It is certainly a fair presumption that if the Gospel of Mark was ever complete it was so when the writer of the Gospel of Matthew used it. Indeed it is very likely that it was precisely because he had used it so extensively in writing his gospel that it so nearly disappeared from use. When we remember that all of Mark except perhaps forty verses are taken over or at least clearly reflected in Matthew, we begin to wonder that Mark survived at all and did not shortly disappear as did the other sources of Matthew. This helps us to understand the loss of the original ending of Mark as due to mere dilapidation, just as most papyrus rolls that have come down to us have lost by accidental mutilation one end or both ends. After the appearance of the Gospel of Matthew, which might be conceived as an improved edition of Mark, smoother, richer, more intelligible, and more edifying, it is difficult to see how Mark survived at all, except in places where Matthew might be unknown. At all events we may reasonably assume that Mark still possessed its original ending when it was used by the writer of Matthew.

We may also fairly expect to find this original ending of

Mark, as Canon Ayles suggests, in combination of course with other materials, at the close of Matthew. Indeed we may fairly expect to find practically all of it there. Matthew has been omitting relatively little of Mark ; in actual verses only one sixteenth of Mark as we know it. If he continued to use Mark in this way, what he may have omitted of Mark's original ending would have been trifling in amount, unless of course it contained something inconsistent with Matthew's main interests. Certainly at the point where Mark breaks off, Matthew is copying his narrative quite faithfully. And as Canon Ayles and Dr. Plummer point out, Matthew's very next words actually fit better upon the last verse of Mark (xvi. 8) than they do upon Matthew's form of that verse (xxviii. 8). This is proof positive that Matthew had a fuller Mark than ours, and that he is still following Mark after Mark disappears from our sight.

Canon Ayles is surely right in looking for the original conclusion of Mark in Matthew xxviii. 9, 10 and 16–20, but not of course in 11–15, for that is the sequel of a non-Marcan incident, the Bribing of the Watch. Matthew doubtless got the sequel of that story where he got the story itself. In these verses (9, 10, 16–20) therefore, in view of the very full way in which Matthew has been using Mark, especially in this latter part of his gospel, I should expect to find practically all of the original conclusion of Mark.

But we are not wholly dependent upon the mirror of Mark which Matthew supplies, for Mark has himself given us a strong hint of how his gospel is to end. It is to end with, or at least it is not to end without, a Galilean reappearance of Jesus. Canon Ayles quotes Mark xvi. 7 to this effect, and we may add xiv. 28, as even more convincing : "Howbeit after I am raised up I will go before you into Galilee."

Now this Galilean reappearance of Jesus is the distinguishing feature of Matthew among the Synoptists. Can there be any doubt that he derived it from Mark? Not only verses 9 and 10*a*, then, but 10*b*, 16, 17*a*, and 18*a*, are proved to have stood in Mark's original conclusion. On the other hand Matthew xxviii. 18*b* is too reminiscent of Matthew xi. 27*a* to be safely credited to Mark. But Matthew xxviii. 19*a*, "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations," is in substance probably from Mark, who says in xiii. 10, "And the gospel must first be preached to all the nations." The word "make disciples" is a Matthæan but not a Markan word, and it is likely that Mark said, "Go and preach the gospel to all the nations." The baptismal formula of Matthew xxviii. 19*b* is not likely to have stood in Mark; there is even some question of its claim to its present position in Matthew. Perhaps Eusebius' omission of it is really a lingering reminiscence of the old ending of Mark. The emphasis upon the apostles as teachers and upon Jesus' commandments, xxviii. 20*a*, is more natural in Matthew than it would be in Mark. Whether the last great clause in Matthew, "Behold I am with you all the days, unto the Consummation of the Age," stood originally in Mark is a more difficult question. The Consummation of the Age is of course a phrase peculiar to Matthew. It can hardly have stood in Mark. Mark is more likely to have read simply "the end" (τοῦ τέλους), as he does in xiii. 7 and 13. The deeper question is whether Mark could have described the risen Jesus as a continuing spiritual presence with His disciples, as Matthew does. But Mark has already recorded (xiii. 11) Jesus' promise of the Holy Spirit's presence and guidance in the trying days before the end, and Christians early came to believe that the Holy Spirit was His Spirit. If this is true, then we may reasonably reconstruct the Lost Ending of Mark on the basis of what

Matthew preserves and what Mark itself foreshadows, as follows : [1]

"And Jesus met them, saying, Hail ! And they came and took hold of his feet and worshipped him. And Jesus saith unto them, Be not afraid, go, tell my brethren to depart into Galilee and there they shall see me. And they departed with great joy and ran to tell His disciples.

"And the eleven disciples went into Galilee to the mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him they worshipped him. And Jesus came to them and spoke to them, saying, Go and preach the gospel to all the nations. Behold, I am with you all the days unto the end."

That any further elements of the original conclusion of Mark are to be sought in the Long Conclusion seems to me improbable. That conclusion was, as I believe, first composed to fill the gap occasioned by the loss, through accidental mutilation, of the original conclusion. The original conclusion would not in that case have been available as a source for the writer of the Long Conclusion. Nor does the Long Conclusion seem to me to supply elements which could have functioned appropriately in the original ending. The only exception is the expression "Preach the gospel" for Matthew's "Make disciples," where the Long Conclusion has fallen into a Markan form of expression. Much in the Long Conclusion that Canon Ayles finds congenial to Mark, and so accepts into the original conclusion, seems to me to have come from Acts and to have a decidedly late sound. Nor does it seem to me likely that Mark should have included any account of the carrying out of Jesus' commission to the disciples. Matthew is a more careful artist

[1] This reconstruction, while it resembles one I suggested in the *Amer. Jour. of Theology*, vol. ix. (1905), pp. 484 ff., is in some details more faithful to the usage of Mark.

than Mark in these matters, and even he feels no such need of following the commission with an account of its accomplishment. And surely his way of finishing his narrative is much more effective than is that of the Long Conclusion.

In support of some details of the proposed restoration: Jesus' greeting to the women, Χαίρετε, dispels their gloom, reflected in verse 8, and His next words "Be not afraid" link themselves directly with Mark's words "For they were afraid" in verse 8. His next words repeat the command of the young man at the tomb (ver. 7), though Peter is not specified, and for "the disciples" we now have "my brethren," in harmony with Mark iii. 34, 35. The references to a Galilean appearance are precisely in line with Mark xiv. 28, and xvi. 7. The appointed mountain can hardly be anything but the Mount of Transfiguration which Mark, followed by Matthew, has already vaguely connected by anticipation with the resurrection (Mark ix. 9). The reader of the original Mark has been prepared for the "preaching of the gospel to all the nations" by Jesus' words in Mark xiii. 10, and though Matthew has integrated the words more deeply in the structure of his Gospel, they are entirely appropriate in a document of the Greek mission, like Mark. Jesus' promise of His presence is foreshadowed in Mark xiii. 11: "all the days" are evidently "the days," "those days" of the tribulation often mentioned in Mark, chapter xiii. (vers. 17, 19, 20, 24), and doubtless understood by the evangelist as the very days in which he and his readers lived. "Through all the days" of their extremity Jesus' spirit will not fail them, xiii. 11 (cf. xiii. 23), "unto the end" mentioned in xiii. 7, 13, when His fuller Messianic disclosure is to take place (cf. xiii. 24–26). Perhaps it is not altogether unnatural that a document that begins so curiously, Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, should have ended by projecting its vision of that same gospel-preaching on εἰς τέλος.

The closing lines of Mark in Greek probably ran as follows :

Καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὑπήντησεν αὐταῖς λέγων Χαίρετε· αἱ δὲ προσελθοῦσαι ἐκράτησαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ. Καὶ λέγει αὐταῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Μὴ φοβεῖσθε· ὑπάγετε ἀπαγγείλατε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου ἵνα ἀπέλθωσιν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, κἀκεῖ με ὄψονται. Καὶ ἀπελθοῦσαι μετὰ χαρᾶς μέγαλης ἔδραμον ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ. Οἱ δὲ ἕνδεκα μαθηταὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν εἰς τὸ ὄρος οὗ ἐτάξατο αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν προσεκύνησαν. Καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Πορεύθεντες κηρύξατε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας εἰς τέλος.

But however we may differ in details it seems to me no longer open to doubt that (1) the original ending of Mark described a Galilean reappearance of Jesus ; and (2) that account with some amplification of the commission is preserved in the conclusion of Matthew.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

THE SLAVE AND THE WORKMAN IN THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT.

I.

THE language which the New Testament employed about the relation of masters to their slaves, has been transferred by an improper analogy to the relation of the employer with his workmen. The principle laid down by Bengel:[1] respicitur conditio servorum veterum, has been disregarded. And by the translation of δοῦλος by "servant" in English, and by "Knecht" in German, the relation of the employer to the employed has been represented in terms which were originally applied to the owner and the slave.[2] That in spite of this distortion the New Testament should still commend itself to workmen, is no excuse for this grave error. For it is indeed fundamental, and vitiates the Authorised and the Revised Versions to a depth which it is our immediate business to plumb.

The trouble comes from the word δοῦλος. It means "slave" in modern English. Dr. Souter gives no other rendering, in his Pocket Lexicon. It is suggested sometimes that "slave" is too harsh a term. But the implication that oriental slavery was not degrading, and that the lot of slaves in the Roman empire was not particularly hard, can only be maintained by persons for whom words have lost their ordinary significance. The words "bondman"

[1] *Gnomon*, ad Eph. vi. 5.

[2] This error has vitiated, unconsciously, most of the English and German speculations on the freedom of the will.

and "servant" have been substituted for the word "slave" in such a way as to turn the edge of the evangelical references. As against the usage of the Authorised Version I appeal to Shakespeare. He uses the word "slave" some eight times more frequently than "bondman." Still less adequate than "bondman" is the use of "servant" to translate the "servus" of the Vulgate. "Servant" is already found in the fourteenth century translations of the Latin scriptures.[1] We have to go back to the Anglo-Celtic[2] versions to find an actual equivalent in current speech, namely, "theowa." This rendering of "servi" suggested to the hearer a similar life to that which passed before the eyes of the apostles. So strong was the influence of slavery that the Gospel is penetrated through and through with notions thence derived, and if we read the Gospel with moderate care, we find these notions clearly expressed. But in order so to read, we must begin by substituting the words "slave" and "slavery" wherever δοῦλος and δουλεία occur. It may be indeed that we fail to bring the entire meaning of the Gospel across the interval which separates the version from its original. But as things are at present, the bridge which a translation aims at erecting is broken down.

II.

Some persons might say that the external relation of the master to his slave in the New Testament was not as obvious, for example, as the relation between the white master and the negro in the Southern States of America before the Civil War, as if, to quote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*,

[1] "Servant" retained many of the implications of "slave."

[2] I owe to a conversation with Sir Frank Benson the substitution of this term for the incorrect "Anglo-Saxon." Huxley pointed out in 1871 that "the people are vastly less Teutonic than their language" (*Man's Place in Nature*, 266).

the slave in the early empire could count upon a master like St. Clair and need not fear the brutality of a Legree. Such was not the opinion prevalent in the primitive Christian community. The lurid colours of the Apocalypse paint the condition of the imperial world with a historian's brush. Mommsen could say of the closing days of the Roman Republic: "The abyss of misery and woe which opens before our eyes in this most miserable of all proletariates, we leave to be fathomed by those who venture to gaze into such depths. It is very possible that, compared with the sufferings of the Roman slaves, the sum of all negro suffering is but a drop."[1] Or again, "All the arrant sins that capital has been guilty of against nation and civilisation in the modern world, remain as far inferior to the abomination of the ancient capitalist-states as the free man, be he ever so poor, remains superior to the slave: and not until the dragon-seed of North America ripens,"—the historian is speaking in the period which preceded the Civil War,—"will the world again have similar fruits to reap."[2] If therefore, on the one hand, we must protest against the stuff which passes for economic history in those pages where the modern industrial worker is compared with the Roman slave, we must, by the same token, call to account those translators of the Gospel who have applied to the workman generally language which the Gospel directed to another address: the human servitude to human owners which lay like a monstrous shadow over the otherwise smiling features of classical civilisation, a shadow which hung over the modern world for eighteen centuries more, and is still not universally dispelled. Ancient Rome was not alone guilty. Not only her merchants, in enumerating their cargoes, after gold and silver and gems and pearls

[1] *History of Rome*, tr. 1880, iii. 80.
[2] *Op. cit.* iv. 521.

and silk and purple and ivory and marble and fine wheat and horses and carriages, ended with a cynical completeness upon "human live stock."[1] Commerce, under Christian influence, brought some alleviation to the slave. But the children of this world came not badly out of the bargain, when they were encouraged in the belief that the Gospel, when it enjoined obedience to the slave owner, was exalting the employer also above the free craftsman. What was the life of these ancient parallels? The visitor at a Roman banquet might find a slave at his feet imploring intercession against heavy punishments for small offences. You might have read on the doorpost of your host: "No slave to go out of doors except by the master's orders, *sine dominico iussu*, penalty one hundred stripes."[2] On those same pages there is recorded the end of possibly a Christian slave. "Mithradates the slave was crucified because he spoke disrespectfully of the genius of our lord Gaius."[3] And this was in a household where the master was of kindly feeling! "Ah, my friends," he could say, "a slave is a man and drank his mother's milk like ourselves, even if cruel fate has trodden him down. Yes, and if I live they shall soon taste the water of freedom. In fact I am setting them all free in my will." Ad summum omnes illos in testamento meo manumitto.[4]

But until he was freed, the slave was at his master's absolute disposal. Listen to Juvenal as he drives home to our minds what on occasion this might mean.

> Pone crucem servo. Meruit quo crimine servus
> supplicium? quis testis adest? quis detulit? audi,
> nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa est,
> O demens! ita servus homo est?—nil fecerit, esto:
> hoc volo: sic jubeo: sit pro ratione voluntas.

[1] *Revelation*, xviii. 13. [2] Petronius, *Satyricon*, 28.
[3] *Op. cit.* 53. Perhaps a reference to the Emperor Gaius.
[4] *Op. cit.* 71.

"Make ready the cross," says the master. A bystander appeals: "Listen, no delay is ever too long when a man's life is at stake." He is called a fool for his pains, and the slave owner replies: "The slave is innocent, be it so. My will needs no reason to justify it."[1]

From these two pictures of Roman life there stands out clearly enough the enormous difference which separated the slave from the freeman, a difference which within the church was at times triumphantly overcome. Where the gospels were circulated in the Roman world, the emancipation which they suggested to the slave would touch his ear with an even deeper music than that which haunted the same message when it was delivered to the Greek world. "You received not the spirit of slavery again unto fear, but you received the spirit of adoption, by which we cry aloud, Abba, Father."[2] The slave upon entering the Christian community met the freeman on equal terms. For the slave, then, this widest of class distinctions disappeared, even at Rome. The slaves of Narcissus were greeted by Paul[3] before and after the freemen of the Roman church. We might surrender to a possible critic of the origins of Christianity every conspicuous feature which is visible to the historian. But the spiritual liberation of the slave would yet resist every solvent. Nor was the slave always unworthy. The reader must be prepared, however, to find the loyalty of the slave taking terrible shapes on occasion. For once it is our duty with unflinching gaze to scan the abyss out of which man may be rescued. The chapter of Valerius Maximus, *De fide servorum erga dominos*, exhibits the slave of Antius Restio, who had been in chains and branded by his owner on the forehead with hot iron, saving his master from the bloodthirsty troops

[1] *Sat.* vi. 220. [2] Romans viii. 15.
[3] Romans xvi. 11.

who, as in Russia to-day, carried out the work of proscription. But the means employed by the slave throw a ghastly illumination over the whole scene. The slave hid his master, and built a pile of wood. He then seized and killed an old man and threw him on the pyre. When the soldiers came along and asked where Antius was, the slave pointed to the pyre and said that he had burnt his master in revenge for the cruelties inflicted upon himself. Quia verisimilia loquebatur, habita est voci fides. And Antius escaped.

When therefore it is said sometimes in extenuation of slavery among the Greeks that it was milder than among the Romans, there was still room for terrible depths above which, as though over an abyss, the Greek slave lived in a suspended state. Only the supreme distinction of darkness and light is adequate to symbolise the difference between slavery and freedom. The Gospel therefore loses its vividness when we draw a veil over the clear-cut and stern brilliancy of its language about that slave world which included in its cruel embrace half the inhabitants of the empire.

III.

But the Church has not been left without witnesses. The *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* lays down the law for the slave owner.[1] "Thou shalt not give commands in an evil temper to thy man slave or woman slave who hope in the same God, lest they cease to fear the God who is over both you and them. But you slaves be subject to your masters as to a type of God in shame and fear." When Lightfoot translated the last phrase by "servants," he left his translation to imply that the employer stood to the employed as a type of God. The same phrases

[1] *Teaching*, iv. 11.

are repeated in the Epistle of Barnabas and receive the same mistranslation.[1]

That we are dealing here with a mistranslation at once appears if we survey those passages in which δοῦλος is set over against ἐλευθερός. If δοῦλος does not mean slave, what is the significance of ἐλευθερός? Gilbert Wakefield of Nottingham, in his translation of the New Testament, gives in nearly all these passages the obvious rendering of δοῦλος, and I am glad to find that he is supported by Dr. Moffatt in his translation. But the case is less satisfactory when we turn to a group of passages in which instructions given to slaves are treated as if they referred to free men who were the employees of another free man. The case is rendered quite clear in one passage, where δοῦλος, first translated "slave," is wrongly translated "servants" later on in contrast with κύριοι. Weymouth goes further still than the others in the correct translation of δοῦλος. But even he hesitates sometimes. The fact that the French version in this respect is somewhat more accurate than the English and German versions, is probably to be connected with the guidance which Calvin gave in his commentary.[2] "To be sure the Apostle is not speaking of hired servants such as are in use to-day, but of those who in ancient times were in perpetual slavery unless they were freed by the kindness of their owners. For their owners bought them for a money price, so that they could be employed upon the meanest services, and indeed they had a legal right of life and death over them." The clarity of French vision is nowhere more conspicuous than here. Calvin pierces through to the fact. It is indeed somewhat surprising that the distinction between the slave who serves an owner and the free man who exchanges his labour for a wage has been habitually—I speak for myself—blurred

[1] *Ep. Barn.* xix. 7. [2] *Ad Ephes.* vi. 5.

by the mistranslation in question. It is one of the many debts under which Deissmann has laid his readers that he has drawn such emphatic attention to the actual meaning of the Greek vernacular.[1] There is no excuse, therefore, for the future misunderstanding of the Greek Gospel in this respect. And the pressing and immediate obligation is laid upon all students of the sacred writings to remedy as far as many be the misunderstanding and the consequent mischief which has arisen throughout the Anglo-Celtic and German world about the relation of the employer to the employed.

IV.

Let us trace the mischief a little further. Our English vernacular once more comes to our aid. The slang which gives "slavey" as the equivalent of maidservant is marked by Webster as English colloquial and jocose. But this unseemly phrase reveals the inner meaning of that confusion under which we are labouring. I have seldom heard it since I was a small boy. But I remember using the objectionable term in conversation with some companions, and I think for the last time. Fortunately for myself I was overheard by a Christian woman who was a maid of my mother's. She was of sterling character and I respected her. The rebuke she gave me lingers yet in my memory. But for all that I was in a venerable tradition. Luther, speaking of the indocility and untrustworthiness of servants, qualities which rendered his wife's existence burdensome, made himself the spokesman of the domestic employer.[2] "We find every one," said the great man, "complaining of the idleness and profligacy of this class of people: we must govern them Turkish fashion, so much work, so much

[1] *Light from the Ancient East*, 323.
[2] *Table Talk*. tr. Hazlitt, clvi.

victuals, as Pharaoh dealt with the Israelites in Egypt." Whether the theologian was speaking *ex cathedra* on this occasion, or whether it was the genial and not yet perfect German citizen, we need not consider. But I suspect that the application of instructions intended for slaves to free persons engaged in—shall we say ?—menial occupations, was not altogether unpleasing to the individuals for whom such services were performed.

The influence of such considerations as these on literary criticism needs examination. When it is seriously affirmed that the author of *The Imitation* could not have been Thomas à Kempis because he was a mere copyist of MSS., we begin to think.[1] A similar class consciousness displays itself in the unnecessary emphasis laid sometimes upon the illiteracy of Jesus and the apostles.

V.

It would seem that some writers almost shut their eyes to the slavery of the early empire. Slavery occurs neither in the index of Farrar's *Life of Christ*, nor of Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus*. Greek and Roman slavery has no separate heading in the *Encyclopedia Biblica*. Conybeare and Howson refer in their index to the slave trade of Delos only. Farrar's *St. Paul* dispenses entirely with the heading in question. Sir William Ramsay, in his admirable and comprehensive surveys, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, and *St. Paul the Traveller*, finds room for but an occasional reference. The sole entry in the index of the former work refers but to pagan slaves. This silence need cause little surprise. The word slave occurs once only in the Authorised Version of the Old Testament and but once in the Authorised Version of the New Testament. The present attempt to break the silence in question may

[1] *E. B.* s.v.

err on the noisy side but it has been a matter almost of arousing the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.

VI.

Jesus formulated the relation between Himself and His followers sometimes in the terms of the relation of the owner to the slave. "Take my yoke upon you," means "take the yoke of my slavery upon you." The same notion underlies the word "cross" which we have already seen accompanying slave-life. "If any one wishes to follow me let him disown himself and take up his cross." For this sense of *ἀπαρνέομαι*, to renounce possession of, it is enough to turn to the LXX, Isaiah xxxi. 7. The taking up of the cross is therefore done in the capacity of a slave. The follower renounces his former freedom. "Ye call me the Master of disciples and the Lord of slaves: and ye speak truly for so I am. A slave is not greater than his Lord." How the correct rendering of *δοῦλος* transfers us to the Orient! We breathe eastern air of the Koran and the Arabian Nights. The solemn invocation of the Eucharist, Maran Atha, "Come, Lord of us Thy slaves!" was already rooted in the Gospel before Greek had entirely supplanted the primitive Aramaic.

Just as Jesus set His seal to the transformation of Yahweh from the oriental despot to the heavenly Father, so in His own person He metamorphosed the slave owner. "Henceforth I call you not slaves, for the slave knoweth not what his owner does: but I have called you friends!"[1] How these words would kindle the fire of hope in the breasts of the slave audience! To be taken out of the unspeakable terrors of the slave's external life and to enjoy within the religious community a realised emancipation was a delight beyond utterance, a delight which radiated itself

[1] John xv. 15. Even Weymouth fails us here.

also upon the freemen whose recognition counted with the slave for so much. But the emphasis of this contrast was intensified by a further circumstance. A large proportion of the slave population worked in gangs under the whip of an overseer. The land, the mines and other commercial undertakings occupied armies of slaves of whom we catch occasional glimpses. It was not merely the oppression of the slave owner but the brutality of one's fellow-slaves thereby produced, which rendered still more acute the misery upon which we are gazing.

The fourth gospel, therefore, is peculiarly the Gospel of the slave. It almost opens with the declaration that Jesus came to His own property and that his slaves—*οἱ ἴδιοι*—did not receive Him, that is, I suppose, collectively.[1] Individually those who received Him obtained the right—compare the phrase *ἐξουσία*[2]—to the status of a son. So also the evangelist concentrates himself upon the act by which, as the climax of His mission, Jesus performed a servile office. "If I your owner, *κύριος*,[3] have performed this servile office, so is it your obligation to perform similar servile offices one for another."

How smoothly we pass from these sayings to the language of the New Testament about the meaning of the death of Jesus. *Λύτρον, ἀπολύτρωσις, ἀπελεύθερος*,[4] ransom, redemption, freed man, in fact, the whole technical phrasing of Paul's theology can only be taken in its complete significance when we restore the word "slave" to our English version.

VII.

Paul, indeed, speaks of himself as *συνεργός* time after time. He also speaks of himself as a fellow-slave, *σύνδουλος*.

[1] John i. 11.
[2] *Vocab. G.T.*; Milligan, s.v.
[3] John xiii. 16.
[4] Deissmann *op. cit.* 331.

In these two phrases he takes up into a stereoscopic picture the main constituents of the primitive church. Workmen and slaves were the larger part of a community which also included persons drawn from the wealthier classes. Paul reduces the whole outer world to its lowest denominator, then, when he speaks of "the slaves of sin"; he ruthlessly emphasises man's subjection even within the Church by speaking of "the slaves of justice."[1]

VIII.

If heresies are colourable imitations of the truth, the question arises whether the Marxian gospel should not be regarded as a genuine heresy. There is a curious parallel between Marx's doctrine that all labour should be regarded in terms of the worst paid, and the doctrine of St. Paul (and the Stoics) that mankind are in the mass moral slaves. In each case mankind is reduced to a low denominator. At the same time this parallelism conceals the deadliest opposition. The poverty which to Marx is wholly evil, to the Gospel, as to St. Francis, is a ground of hope. The Gospel begins, "Blessed are the poor because the kingdom of heaven is theirs."[2] Matthew's phrase "the poor in spirit" carries the same idea one step further. Exterior poverty is a detachment from material possessions. Spiritual poverty is a happy detachment from oneself. Mr. Bernard Shaw forces the Marxians to realise what they are talking about, when he declares that poverty is a crime.[3] If detachment from material possessions is a crime, what about the detachment from oneself? Why should I become detached from myself? I take it because my self is not worth sticking to. If a man is born good and enjoys the economic conditions for remaining good, why should he

[1] Romans vi. 17, 18. [2] Luke vi. 20.
[3] *Major Barbara*, 157.

disown himself? But he is not born even economically good. In that respect he can only occasionally be classed A1. Just as little is he born morally good, that is, good all round. Even the worst man is indeed good for something. But this partial goodness is balanced by a good deal that a sensible person will try to get rid of. The analysis of human nature which is involved in Jesus' principle of renunciation takes account of the facts. The poverty which is blessed, is largely a freedom from artificial wants. The sorest deprivations are spiritual: lack of spiritual communion. Mr. Shaw's hypothesis that morals are only social habits and circumstantial tendencies, is a convenient way of levelling down the spiritual plane so that he can build his dream city. But Mr. Shaw's experiment has already been tried. The Roman Empire was the most splendid and—considering the materials which the bureaucracy found to hand—the most successful socialist experiment which was ever made: an experiment which was carried through because the government could lay its hands upon a very large proportion of clever organisers. The present Bolshevik government in Russia may be, probably is, quite as good as its friends paint it. But the antichrist which it has set up is a caricature of the Roman antichrist. A British workman who came from Moscow a few weeks ago, explained how he managed by the judicious bribing which is indigenous in Russia to get food from the stores which are abundant apparently in all country districts. Up to the present anyway this first step[1]—the distribution of the common store of food—has not been taken, a fact which compels us to reconsider the comforting hypothesis that the supply of capable persons increases automatically. But let us assume that the Bolshevik government is going to be as successful as the Roman im-

[1] The primitive Church had no difficulty in handling this question.

perial government. The hypothetical material paradise will again fail to satisfy. It is impossible, with Marx, to base the life of man on a sound foundation so long as the beginning is made from the material side.

IX.

To say with Marx, seek first a material society and the spiritual society will follow, is to construct a slave morality. To say with Jesus, "seek first a divine kingdom of justice," leads to the morality of a free man. A few considerations will make this clear. In the first place, man is only master of himself when he can postpone material to spiritual satisfactions. I am not maintaining that there is any intrinsic value in the mere postponement, I am only concerned with the power to postpone. In the second place, the power to postpone a satisfaction carries with it the power to imagine a more distant result. In this way the hurried and confused thinking which accompanies the immediate satisfactions of needs is to some extent clarified. In the third place, the haste to declare one's likes and dislikes is transformed by postponement into the critical appreciation of fine and beautiful things and their opposites. With these explanations we can now understand the psychological paradox that the end is often best attained by confining one's attention for the time to the means. Jesus, who said "seek the divine kingdom of justice," also said that this is best attained by those who employ material means to the satisfaction of human needs. But He interprets the fact by reference to the spirit. The conflict is therefore between the spiritual interpretation of economic fact and the economic interpretation of spiritual facts. The latter method is based upon the sand. Whatever there is of value in the Marxian system is based upon its recognition of the spiritual nature of man, therefore upon

the contradiction of the fundamental principle of Marx. And this is what is meant, when it is admitted that the Bolshevik system, so far as it is a system, is better than it is painted by its friends.

X.

Lastly, in the light of a correct conception of slavery, the interminable discussions about the freedom of the will may be a little abbreviated. Man, says Aristotle, "is a principle of action." Only so far, therefore, as the explanation, the cause, of a man's actions are to be found within himself may he be regarded as human. If we leave on one side abnormal causes of action such as disease or mutilation, we may say that a man is free or that his will is free so far as it is not subject to forcible control. Only, in a transferred sense, can we speak of slavery. But, although transferred, this application of the term slave is significant. Ideas which fall upon a vacant mind occupy it sometimes in such a way as to exclude other ideas. When the excluded ideas are good, the dominant ideas to that extent are evil; and alternately when the excluded ideas are evil, to that extent the dominant ideas are good. Hence, to a certain extent, the slavery of the mind to ideas, its obsession by them, may be to some extent a deliverance if a bad obsession is replaced by a good one. But the obsession of the mind by Jesus Himself is not the highest state. Friendship is a better relation of spirit to spirit than obsession. "I no longer call you slaves, but I have called you friends."[1] Friendship is constituted by communion in spiritual ideas. "I have made known to you all that I have heard from my Father." The initial Christian state of mind may be an obsession, but it must be replaced by a higher state. Man is, indeed,

[1] John xv. 15.

the slave of God.[1] But so far as love is a predicate of God, God is the friend of man. Hence we gain by the correct translation of κόσμος as *tout le monde.* God so loved all men, John iii. 16. As far as I know the only place where the phrase "lover of men" occurs in Christian literature as applied to God, is in the Armenian liturgy.[2] In Greek literature it apparently is first so found in Plato's Symposium and is there used of Eros. Only in the light of this ultimate phrase does slavery disappear. Much is said nowadays of the blind forward movement of the world. Students of the Gospel are not left under any such illusion as that. Only by seeking and tracing out in human history the friendly relationship of the human and the divine can we see anything more in man's life than a complex and delicate organism, ravaged and degenerate, swept along in the whirlwind of the abyss. Only the free man, as we have learned to see him, can stand erect and fearless amid the ruins of a falling world.

FRANK GRANGER.

CYPRIAN ON THE LORD'S PRAYER.

WHEN Hilary of Poitiers, about the middle of the fourth century, came to the Lord's Prayer in his commentary on St. Matthew's gospel, he felt and said that it was no use to write upon this passage after Cyprian. "Cyprian, that man of holy memory, has freed us from the necessity of commenting upon the sacred mystery (*sacramento*) of the Prayer. Though Tertullian also has composed a most adequate (*aptissimum*) book on the subject; but his subsequent aberration has deprived his commendable writings

[1] "God's slave" is a familiar phrase in Russian. *With the Russian Pilgrims*, Graham, II. i.

[2] London, 1887, pp. 20, 26. Titus iii, 4 with Calvin's commentary.

of authority." This points to the vogue and authority of Cyprian's exposition in the Western Church, a century after it was published. But it does not indicate the dependence of Cyprian upon Tertullian. Tertullian was Cyprian's "master" in theology, and the extent to which the bishop was indebted to the jurist is revealed by a comparison of their tracts on the Lord's Prayer. Cyprian follows Tertullian's general treatment, and adopts many a phrase and illustration from him—as usual, without the slightest acknowledgement. At the same time, his tract *De Dominica Oratione* has merits of its own. It is flatter than Tertullian's, much less incisive and original, and often diluted with honest commonplaces, but it succeeds in expounding the Prayer with more breadth and with considerable effectiveness of a plain order.

There is no evidence, internal or external, for the date of this tract. It was written for the Church in Carthage, probably, we may infer, about the middle of the third century. The period of its composition, however, does not matter. The opening paragraphs (i.–vi.) commend the prayer to Christians (*amica et familiaris oratio est Deum de suo rogare, ad aures eius ascendere Christi orationem*) and insist upon the general need of quietness and modest reverence in prayer.[1] Then he comes (vii.) to an exposition of the Prayer which occupies the bulk (vii.–xxviii.) of the treatise. The form of text runs thus: "Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done in heaven and on earth, give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our debts as we also forgive our

[1] His Old Testament example is Hannah (1 Sam. i. 13), and the New Testament gives the publican in the temple (Luke xviii. 10–14). The latter illustration is found in Tertullian (*De Oratione*, xvii.); the former is not very happy, for Hannah is said to have prayed not audibly but inwardly. Calvin (*Instit.* iii. 20, 33) compares her "incertum murmur" to ejaculations in prayer.

debtors, and suffer us not to be led into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one." It is for him, as for Tertullian, a compact epitome of belief, a compendium of heavenly doctrine; although he does not extract from it all the dogmas[1] which Tertullian had discovered, he finds repeatedly an exhortation to peace and unity, and also a warning against worldliness in the shape of an overweening love for life or wealth.

The former truth appears at once. Cyprian's first point is that Christ teaches the unselfishness of prayer; we say "*our* Father," not "*my* Father," and so on (viii.: *publica est nobis et communis oratio*). As usual, he cites two illustrations of this truth, from the Old Testament and from the New. Both were favourite texts. The former is the case of the three martyrs in the fiery furnace, who "sang a hymn as it were from one mouth and blessed the Lord"[2] —and that, Cyprian adds, although Christ had not taught them to pray. The New Testament reference is to Acts i. 14, the disciples continuing "with one accord in prayer, along with the women"—which proves "that God only admits into the divine and eternal House those among whom prayer is unanimous." He reiterates, in connexion with this text, what he had urged in *De Unitate* (xxv.) and *Epist.* xi. 3, that unanimity is a condition for effective prayer, and that no true prayer can be offered by Christians who are divided and quarrelsome. His horror of anything like sectarianism and schism led him often to quote Acts i. 14, and in *Epist.* xi. 7 he had already said what he says here

[1] E.g., much as he loved the idea of Mother-Church, he evidently could not agree with Tertullian in seeing it inside the invocation to the Father in heaven.

[2] He had already quoted this (*de Lapsis* xxxi.) to illustrate boldness in confessing the Lord, as well as (*de Unitate* xii.) to prove that God was present with the three youths because they were united and harmonious. *The Song of the Three Children* (28) was incorporated in the Book of Daniel as translated by the Old Latin version.

on the general duty of common prayer: "Let us each pray to God, not for himself alone, but for all the brethren, as the Lord taught us to pray when He gave not a private prayer for individuals but an order to pray for all with a common prayer and a harmonious entreaty."

The first Greek expositor to bring out forcibly this inference from the plural ἡμῶν is Chrysostom. It is one of his favourite thoughts (e.g. on Eph. iv. 30) that sonship before the heavenly Father, such as this invocation implies, is the one truth which enables men to unite amid their social differences of position upon earth. Afterwards, either owing to Cyprian's influence or to Chrysostom's, it seems to have become almost a commonplace of exposition. Thus, as late as the twelfth century, Abelard in his interpretation of the Lord's Prayer (*Sermo* xiv.) notes that the use of *noster* rather than *meus* not only differentiates our sonship from that of Christ but lays stress upon brotherly affection as an essential for prayer (*tanto facilius impetramus quod postulamus, quanto per fraternae dilectionis affectum alios nobis in orationem sociamus.*[1] Calvin's exposition (*Instit.* iii. 20, 36–39) carries on this tradition, though he is more explicit than almost any one since Tertullian in arguing that the invocation *Father* involves the recognition of Christ as Son ("*ex quo patrem vocamus Deum, nomen certe Christi praetendamus*"), as well as the common brotherhood of Christians.

Cyprian then finds in this invocation the notes of (*a*) renunciation; (*b*) denunciation; and (*c*) moral obligation. (*a*) To call God *Father*, means a frank confession that he

[1] He even finds in the third petition a prompting to unselfish zeal. It is *on earth* that the Father's will is to be done; not *in me*, not in *us*, he argues, but everywhere in the world; the reason for this choice of terms being that the Lord bids us, in prayer, take upon ourselves the care and thought of all the earth.

who prays thus to a heavenly Father renounces an earthly father (ix.) This ascetic [1] note is not more striking than the (*b*) discovery that the cry "our Father" is a censure on the Jews (*quae uox Iudaeos etiam perstringitur et percutit*, x.). He quotes here, as Tertullian had already done, Isaiah i. 3, adding however the sharp word of John viii. 44 ("you are born of your father the devil"). "He has begun to be our God and has ceased to belong to the Jews, who have forsaken Him." This polemic against the Jews was evidently congenial to the temper of the Church at Carthage. (*c*) Finally (xi.), "when we call God *Father*, we ought to behave as sons of God." If we delight in His Fatherhood, He ought to be able to delight in us as obedient children. This third truth, however, is not elaborated. It is drawn out in the exposition of the next clause particularly.

Cyprian (xii.) explains, like Tertullian, that *hallowed be thy name* means "in us"; it is not that our prayers hallow God, but a petition that the sanctification which we received in baptism may continue effective in our lives. This sacramental touch is Cyprian's own. He quotes 1 Corinthians vi. 9 in proof of it ("ye are sanctified in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and by the Spirit of our God"). "We have need of daily sanctification, so that we who daily fall away may purge our sins anew by a constant sanctification." Or, as *ye are washed* precedes and explains *ye are sanctified*, he can put it thus: "We pray that this sanctification may remain in us, and that as our Lord and Judge warned him whom He had cured and restored to '*sin no more, lest a*

[1] It is connected with the repudiation of the world which accompanied the catechumen's confession of faith at baptism. Cyprian alludes to the custom of the newly-baptized repeating the Lord's Prayer, and thus openly acknowledging their place in the new Household (ix.); the Lord's Prayer with its invocation of the heavenly Father, should be among "the very first words of a man's new birth" (*inter prima statim natiuitatis suae uerba*).

worse thing happened to him,' we continually offer prayer, begging day and night that the sanctification and restoration[1] which come to us by God's grace may be preserved by His own protecting care." The association of the petition with baptism is intelligible, historically, but it narrows the sense, and Cyprian's treatment becomes too vague. It was not till Calvin[2] that the exposition of this clause regained its Tertullianesque vigour.

The same principle of interpretation applies (xiii.) to *Thy kingdom come* and to *hallowed be thy name.* Cyprian follows Tertullian in asking, when does not God reign? No, he answers, it is the future kingdom promised in Matthew xxv. 34 which is meant. But he adds, in passing, an interpretation of his own. May not the kingdom be Christ Himself? "Beloved brethren, Christ Himself may indeed be the Kingdom, He for whose coming we long every day." "As He is called the Resurrection, because in Him we rise again, so He may also be understood as the Kingdom, because in Him we are to reign." This is the first really independent touch of value in the exposition.[3] Cyprian's mind, for a moment, works originally. But it is only for a moment. He did not move freely in these regions of mystical piety unless he had some concrete support as in the case of "Mother-Church." So, after throwing out this aside, he turns to strike the notes of renunciation and denunciation once more. The heavenly kingdom is to be sought

[1] Literally, *vivificatio*, restoration to life.

[2] This petition, he writes (*Instit.* iii. 20, 41), is "bound up with our great disgrace. . . . If even a moderate piety flourished among us. this petition would be superfluous." But irreverence and profanity still sully the divine Name.

[3] It crops up again three centuries later: Venantius Fortunatus, the poet and courtier, who was bishop of Poitiers during the last half of the sixth century, writes "Adveniat regnum tuum, *hoc est Christus Dominus*" (Migne, P. L. lxxxviii. 3171), in his exposition of the Lord's Prayer—one of several touches which betray his indebtedness to Cyprian.

in preference to the worldly kingdom. That is the first point reiterated. And we Christians take the place of the disloyal Jews, who fell away. Cyprian quotes Matthew viii. 11 to prove that Christ meant "the Jews were formerly children of the kingdom, so long as they continued sons of God; but after the name of *Father* ceased among them, the kingdom also ceased. Hence we Christians who have begun to call God our Father in prayer, also pray that God's kingdom may come to us."

Thy will be done in heaven and on earth is treated at greater length (xiv.–xvii.), partly on the lines already laid down by Tertullian; the meaning is that we pray for power to do God's will, in spite of the thwarting opposition of the devil, and Christ has shown us what this obedience to the Father's will implies.[1] Cyprian goes into more detail than his predecessor upon the latter point. "The will of God is what Christ did and taught: humility in conduct, steadfastness in faith, modesty in speech, justice in deeds, compassion in works, discipline in habits, inability to do wrong and ability to suffer wrong done to us, to love the Lord with all the heart, to love Him for His Fatherhood, to fear Him in God, to put nothing before Christ (for He put nothing before us), to cleave inseparably to His love, to stand bravely and loyally by His cross, and, whenever His name and honour are in dispute, to exhibit in words the constancy of our confession, and on trial the confidence with which we do battle, and in death the patience which is our crown." The atmosphere of this statement is persecution. Tertullian had singled out suffering as one element of Christ's perfect obedience; but Cyprian's poignant experiences led him to

[1] This passage, with its collocation of John vi. 38 and 1 John ii. 15–17, is an echo of *de habitu virginum* (vii.). The second text recurs in *de mortalitate* (xxiv.), where it is argued that readiness for God's will involves a readiness to die whenever and however God pleases, either by plague or by martyrdom.

make more of this in addressing Christians who had passed and perhaps were passing through rough water.

He then follows Tertullian's lead in expounding *in heaven and on earth* (the Old Latin text, as we have seen, had no *sicut*). "Since we possess a body from earth, and a spirit from heaven, we are ourselves earth and heaven, and in both, that is, in body and in spirit, we pray that God's will may be done" (xvi.). The illustration is Galatians v. 17–22; our prayer is for God's help to keep the two natures in harmony, the body in tune with the spirit. Cyprian ignores the other interpretation suggested by Tertullian, and proceeds to show that *earth* may also mean those who are still enemies of the faith. For them we should pray, for people "who are still earth, who have not yet begun to be heavenly, that even with regard to them God's will may be done"—the saving will for which Christ stood. That is, the petition asks that "as *in heaven*, i.e., in us, God's will has been done through our faith, so *on earth*, i.e., among those who are unwilling to believe,[1] God's will may be done, that those still earthly, by their first birth, may begin to be heavenly, born of water and the Spirit." This is an interesting missionary application of the prayer. Outside pagans are not merely the source of the persecutions which impose on Christians the duty of bearing God's will patiently; they are an object of prayer on the part of the very people whom they harry.

Give us this day our daily bread (xviii.) "may be understood spiritually and literally," he observes, as Tertullian

[1] Reading, with Hartel, *credere nolentibus*. This was how Augustine interpreted Cyprian's language (*contra duas epp.* x. 27, *de praedest.* viii. 15). The only way of explaining the MS. reading *volentibus* is to take it as meaning "when they believe"—which is forced. Venantius Fortunatus, who reproduces this interpretation (*op. cit.* 320–321) among others, is content to speak of the "earth" people as *adhuc ab Ecclesia peregrini*, i.e., unbaptized.

had done before him. The eucharistic interpretation comes first. It is pretty much as Tertullian put it; only Cyprian notes, apparently with a side-glance at heretics, that Christ is "*our* bread." "This Bread does not belong to all men, it is *ours*," as we belong to His Body (*Christus eorum qui corpus eius contingimus panis est*). The petition means that we pray never to be withheld by any heinous sin from participation in the daily Eucharist—a sharpening of Tertullian's point.

The literal interpretation (xix.) is also indebted to Tertullian's hint; it is a prohibition of anxiety about to-morrow. Cyprian inserts a sentence warning Christians against the desire for long life[1]: "it is self-contradictory for disciples of Christ like us to wish for a long life in this world, when we pray that God's kingdom may come quickly." After this echo of xiii., he quotes 1 Timothy vi. 7, and some other texts used by Tertullian, to prove that the prayer limits Christians to a desire for simple fare. And with the examples of Daniel and Elijah before us, we need not be afraid[2] that God will allow His people to lack the necessaries of life. The argument is the same as in the *de opere et eleemosynis* (xi.).

This, and even the mystical interpretation, may be said to lie nearer to the original sense than some later interpretations. Abelard, for example, actually allegorises all the

[1] He does the same in *De mortalitate* (xviii.), reproaching Christians who were reluctant to die. "We should remember that we ought to do God's will, not our own, as the Lord has bidden us pray every day. How absurd and perverse it is to pray that God's will be done, and yet not to obey the orders of His will at once, when He calls and summons us from this world. . . . Why do we pray and beg for the coming of the kingdom of heaven, if earth's captivity charms us? Why with oft-repeated prayers do we ask and implore that the day of His kingdom may hasten, if our greater desires and stronger wishes are to obey the devil here, rather than to reign with Christ?"

[2] A fear and suspicion which "cleaves to the bones of nearly all men" (Calvin).

last four petitions into prayers for the four cardinal virtues of prudence, justice, temperance, and courage. For God's will to be done by men, he argues, these four virtues are essential, and especially "prudence" or the understanding of God's word and mind. When we ask this *to-day*,[1] we mean "in the present life"; it is a *viaticum* for life, not for death, the food of the mind, that *intelligentia diuini verbi* by which, instead of by bread alone, man is to live. It is called *superstantialem* just because it is superior to the material food of the body. Abelard, with the Vulgate before him, has to explain, of course, why Luke differs from Matthew in calling it *quotidianum*; but he has no difficulty over this. The critical principle of his exposition is that Matthew's version is superior to Luke's, since Matthew as a disciple heard the prayer, while Luke only got his account at second hand! Abelard had the courage to break away from the Eucharistic interpretation, but he diverged in the wrong direction. The true meaning of *Give us this day our daily bread* was as obscured by the figurative as by the mystical Eucharistic sense.

Forgive us our debts as we also forgive our debtors (xxii.–xxiv.) warns us (see 1 John i. 8) that no Christian can plume himself on being free from sin. This truth, as we shall see, appealed specially to Augustine, as well as to Chrysostom. But Cyprian is anxious to push home a further warning against dissension in the Church. Part of his argument (xxiii.–xxiv.) is a repetition of what he had said in *de lapsis* (xiii.), but the illustration from Cain and Abel is more

[1] Cassian (*Collationes* ix. 21), had already suggested this. *To-day*, however, was connected by Cyprian with what was apparently a local custom, in the African Church of the third century, viz., the daily Eucharist ("we daily receive His eucharist as the food of salvation," xviii.). See Wordsworth's *The Ministry of Grace*, pp. 331 f. Venantius Fortunatus (*op. cit.* 321) advocates the daily Eucharist, *si est possibile*—in his exposition of the petition.

developed. Here and elsewhere (e.g., *de mortalitate* xvii.) Cyprian holds that Cain came to offer sacrifice with hatred of his brother already in his heart, and that this was the reason for God's rejection of what he offered. Whereas Abel's offering was accepted, because he was gentle and brotherly. A warning, Cyprian adds, to heretics and schismatics who are quarrelsome and guilty of murder by their hatred of the brethren ! A factious and divisive Christian cannot escape Cain's doom at the hands of God, even if he dies on behalf of the Christian faith (*nec si pio nomine occisus fuerit*). To Tertullian the unpardonable sins were idolatry, adultery, and murder. Cyprian signalises schism. This severe view that even martyrdom cannot obliterate the consequences of schism, is repeated in the *de Unitate* (xiv.). The quarrelsome dissenting spirit, which leads to implacable hatred of others in the Church, excludes a man from God, and not even though he is martyred for the gospel's sake, is he admitted to heaven ! Again, Cyprian's Church interests sway his interpretation of the Prayer. Tertullian had been content to warn his hearers against private and social animosities, against mercilessness in ordinary life. Cyprian, as a bishop, surrounded by sectarian divisions, drew a narrower moral from the petition. Cassian (*Collationes* ix. 22) mentions the curious fact that some Christians left out this petition when the Lord's prayer was being said by the congregation, afraid that their forgiveness of others was not secure enough to be made a plea for God's pardon of themselves !

When Cyprian comes to the last clause (xxv.–xxvii.), he takes the text as it lay apparently in the Old Latin form : *ne patiaris nos induci in temptationem.* "These words show that the adversary can have no power against us unless God has previously permitted it." He permits it sometimes as a punishment for sin. The three proof-texts, from the Old

Testament, are 2 Kings xxiv. 11 (quoted freely along with Daniel i. 1—the Lord giving Jerusalem over to Nebuchadnezzar), Isa. xliii. 24 f. ("who gave Jacob for a spoil and Israel to the robbers? did not the Lord, against whom they sinned and would not walk in his ways nor listen to his law?"), and 1 Kings xi. 14 ("the Lord stirred up an adversary—*Satanam* [1]—to Solomon"). The chief New Testament text is John xix. 11 ("thou wouldst have no power against me, except it were given thee from above"), which, like Job i. 12, shows that God sometimes lets the good be tried *ad gloriam*.[2]

"When we pray that we may not come into temptation, we are warned of our own infirmity and weakness." In view of what? Cyprian adds that the last words, *but deliver us from evil*, "cover all the onsets made by the enemy against us in this world"; and, as usual, he is thinking primarily of the current dangers of persecution, for he suggests immediately that this petition is specially useful in view of the tendency upon the part of some to court martyrdom in a hectic fit of enthusiasm to run of their own accord into danger. Such an impulse, he remarks, is really due to pride, and it would be impossible for us to act so presumptuously if we truly prayed not to be led into temptation. This petition is therefore a safeguard against spiritual over-confidence. It is a salutary reminder that the flesh is weak.

Tertullian had closed with an eulogy of the Prayer's brevity and comprehensiveness; so Cyprian must do the same (xxviii.). But he discovers a new prediction of the

[1] Cyprian does not follow Tertullian here (*Marc.* iii. 20), who makes Satan stir up the enemy.

[2] Tertullian (*Marc.* v. 12) had fused Job i. 12 with 2 Corinthians xii. 9, God giving "Satan power over Job's person, that his strength might be made perfect in weakness."

Lord's Prayer, in Isaiah's words about God *verbum consummans et breuians in iustitia, quoniam sermonem breviatum faciet Deus in toto orbe terrae* (Isa. x. 22 f.). This prophecy was fulfilled in the Lord's Prayer, which is a compendium for scholars to learn quickly in the school of faith. Similarly, Cyprian explains, Jesus summed up briefly the various commandments, in Matthew vii. 12; xii. 29–31; xxii. 40; and Luke v. 16. Perhaps he got the hint for this idea from Tertullian, who (*adversus Marc.* iv. 1) discovers, in Isaiah's phrase *decisum sermonem faciet Dominus in terra*, a prediction of the New Testament, which is compendious (*compendiatum*), instead of being overloaded with the minutiæ of the Law.[1] But the comparison is Cyprian's own. The Latin, like the Greek,[2] translators of Isaiah read an allusion to conciseness as well as to decisiveness in the sentence, and Cyprian thought it was a divine prophecy of the condensed language of the Lord's Prayer.

Finally, the example of Jesus (xxix.–xxx.) is adduced, as by Tertullian; but Cyprian carefully explains here, as in *Epist.* xi. 5, that Jesus never prayed for Himself; as sinless, He did not require to offer personal prayers; when He prayed, it was for His disciples. "If He prayed who was sinless, how much more ought sinners to pray. . . . But the Lord prayed and entreated not for Himself—why should the guiltless One pray for Himself?—but for our sins." And the proof-texts are Luke xxii. 31 and John xvii. 20. The latter verse, with its emphasis on unity, enables Cyprian to conclude his exposition as he had begun, with an earnest plea for concord and union in the Church. This is his controlling practical interest as an exegete. At

[1] This notion is reproduced by Abelard in his note on Romans ix. 27.

[2] Cf. Paul's use of the text in Romans ix. 27, which seems to apply the loose Septuaguint phrases to the limitation of God's mercy within Israel, i.e., to the range rather than to the contents of the divine sentence.

the same time it is derived from the doctrine which he finds embedded in the Prayer, and it is to this doctrinal interpretation, as well as to his own ecclesiastical prestige, that Cyprian's tract owed its popularity in the later Church. In almost every respect, it is inferior to Tertullian's, not so terse, not so acute, not so fresh. But Cyprian was sound from the orthodox standpoint, while Tertullian's lapse into Montanist sympathies overclouded the reputation of his earlier catholic tracts. Thus Hilary, as we have seen, thought that nothing could be said after Cyprian on the Lord's Prayer, while Augustine lavished praise on him, and quoted him freely, in the anti-Pelagian treatises especially, for the sake of his doctrinal comments. Fortunately, however, this admiration did not prevent Augustine from writing on the Lord's Prayer. His rich experience enabled him to produce an exposition which, like Tertullian's, is of the first rank. JAMES MOFFATT.

"THE WAR AND NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM."

THROUGHOUT this generation the leading places in the field of New Testament Criticism have been occupied very largely by German scholars. And it is they who have stood out most significantly to all educated minds. To such an extent was this recognised, that in our Theological Halls men who were not thoroughly acquainted with German scholarship had no reasonable hope of recognition. The hall-mark of all Biblical Criticism has been Teutonic. The inferiority of any other was assumed. "The backwardness and inefficiency of English criticism on the Synoptic question and the consequent paucity of scientific work on Matthew and Luke especially; the impossibility of advance until English students are furnished with a scientific equip-

ment in the shape of thoroughly critical editions of the Gospels, as well as with monographs combining historical judgment and sound scholarship with some philosophic and religious appreciation of the subject," [1] are notes which have been struck repeatedly during the last twenty years. And students turned more and more to Germany for guidance and results, until at last, as Sir William Ramsay put it in 1911, "there was a class of British scholars who set no value by any opinion until it had appeared in a foreign language." Our leading textbooks were, in the main, collections of German opinions. Their authors seemed to assume that a critic's task was to gather and classify these opinions, and where the pronouncement of judgment was unavoidable to choose the best of those presented. The expression of personal views claiming to be based on independent and original work was rare. A concrete example may be cited. One of the most learned of recent Introductions to the Literature of the New Testament is that of Dr. Moffatt. It is a monument of vast and varied acquaintance with almost everything that has been written on the subject in modern days. But it is almost entirely occupied with the views of others, it gives the impression of being a record of opinion on the New Testament rather than the expression of its author's own deliberate judgments based on independent investigation of the original authorities. And the study of this and other less eminent works leads one to the conclusion that many of our finest scholars have been so much occupied with German dissertations on the subjects of the New Testament that they have entirely surrendered their own minds, and have become incapable of thinking anything except the thoughts of Germans after them. It is not for a moment suggested

[1] *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1914), columns 4086, 4087. Section by J. Moffatt, D.D.

that these last are necessarily unworthy thoughts, but it is maintained that to such an extent has the glamour of German "results" fascinated many British workers, that they have become sorters and classifiers rather than independent thinkers.

Now it is quite true that, as Mark Pattison declared, "a man who does not know what has been thought by those who have gone before him is sure to set an undue value upon his own ideas." [1] But this result is not to be apprehended amongst our own scholars. Their peculiar danger rather lies in their disinclination to possess any ideas of their own at all. They have forgotten Acton's golden warning that in historical work "the main thing to learn is not the art of accumulating material, but the sublimer art of investigating it, of discerning truth from falsehood and certainty from doubt. It is by solidity of criticism more than by the plenitude of erudition that the study of history strengthens and straightens and extends the mind." [2] Our scholars have the erudition. They have also the mental power that makes them capable of independent research. But this power has been largely chloroformed by enormous doses of German-made hypotheses. And the result is a striking barrenness of original work.

All this did not occur without some reasons, and these are apparent. The modern critical view of the Old Testament found its rise in Germany. Eichorn, Vatke, Graf and Kuenen flowered in Wellhausen, and we have no English scholar of equal fame. For Robertson Smith, equal in learning and insight to the best, was in the main an exponent of the teaching of his friend. Then Baur laid the foundations for the critical study of the New Testament. And since his time a swarm of German scholars

[1] *Memoirs*, 78.

[2] *Lecture on the Study of History* (Macmillan, 1895), p. 40.

has been engaged in investigating every branch of this field. The long period of their labours, and their minute and industrious attention to detail have resulted in their occupying the places they hold. Pioneers in criticism, and indefatigable in their toiling, they were deemed by our students to be unapproachable and supreme, and their results were accepted as the pronouncements of the highest possible wisdom.

Now because of their work as pioneers and because of their persistent and orderly patience it was only natural and right that British scholarship should learn from them. But it was not natural and right that it should remain in a condition of permanent pupilage. For German criticism with all its virtues had its evident faults, faults that we can perhaps see more readily now than before the war. There was, with some notable exceptions, a certain ruthlessness that inclined to remove all mystery or label it deceit. There was a certain arrogance which sheltered itself behind the plea of fearlessness, and swaggered over the pages of Soltau and Schmiedel. There was a blunting of the spirit due to too much emphasis on the minutiæ of the letter. There was often a pedantic want of common sense, and a specialisation which though deep was exceedingly narrow. There was a mental cramp at times; an unintelligent subservience to the rules of the critical Drill-Book which resulted in blindness to the fact that all such rules are imperfect, that they often need to be qualified, and even then most cautiously applied. It was forgotten that the unit of the historian is man, and not man on parade, an automaton in the hands of a sergeant, but man exercising his power of choice and in the possession of an incalculable will. There was also an inadequate realisation of the fact that men are very different, that St. Paul must not necessarily act as a Prussian Professor would

act if placed in similar circumstances, and that reason is not the only spring of human conduct.

Owing to the practical monopoly of original criticism by German scholars and their disciples these deficiencies had a tendency to reappear in almost every country, and one was continually impressed with the fact that criticism suffered severely by such monopoly. But one hoped, now and then, that our own scholars would ultimately play their part, and casting off their Teutonic swaddling bands take a few steps on their own initiative. Instead, however, of learning to walk by themselves most of them continued to be carried in the arms of their old-time nurse, and at last one lost hope of the establishment of any considerable British School whose members should make independent contributions to the problems presented in the writings of the New Testament. A somewhat uncritical reverence for foreign opinion grew and flourished until it became an integral part of our educational creed, and nothing seemed capable of dispelling its accepted glamour.

Then came the war, and with it some prospect of release from bondage, and the creation of a more favourable atmosphere for the establishment of a British school of criticism, a school composed of men who, while acquainted with the opinions of other workers, will yet think for themselves. For the glamour of great personalities has been broken; the idea of approximate infallibility has been shattered, and we are able to look out at last upon German scholarship not through the spectacles of complacent acceptance but through open eyes, and with critical regard. Since 1914 one can see in certain quarters a tendency to change. In some circles where German scholarship was applauded as the acme of modernity it is now execrated as the lowest product of imbecility. But those who were acquainted with the slender equipment of those who expressed the

former opinion will know how to justly appraise their present view, and it is not from these circles that any gain will come. One looks rather for a certain change in the attitude of those who, while qualified to judge, seemed to be so fascinated by great names that their power of judgment was practically dormant. Such a change may possibly be accelerated by the famous German "Epistle to the Evangelical Christians Abroad," signed by some of their religious leaders, and by certain outstanding authorities in scholarship. Chief amongst these latter was Harnack of Berlin. Now it will readily be admitted that no man, living or dead, has done more for the history of the Early Church. Yet it does not follow that he is infallible. But the tendency to exalt his class to the rank of super-men was shown by the prevalent belief amongst some of our leading theologians that this chief of scholars must be under a grave delusion in accepting responsibility for such a document, and accordingly they must needs write to enlighten him. Harnack in replying showed himself to be very much of an ordinary and fallible man, and that in a case where all the necessary documents and facts were available for the formation of a right judgment. His answer, bitter and partisan, amounted to a charge of ignorance against his correspondents, and they must have been considerably amazed as they read a whole-hearted defence of the invasion of Belgium, based on the principle that necessity knows no law. They were informed that—

> Our chancellor, with the scrupulous conscientiousness that distinguishes him, has declared that there was in this (invasion) a certain wrong on our part. I am unable to follow him in this judgment, and cannot even admit a formal wrong; for we were in a situation in which formulæ no longer exist, but only ethical duties. When David in extreme necessity took the shewbread from the table of the Lord, he was absolutely in the right; for the letter of the law at that moment no longer existed. It is as well known to

you as to me that there is a right of need which breaks iron, how much more a treaty.

Et tu Brute! and his English camp followers have not yet recovered from their state of futile bewilderment. But open opponents of all real criticism, and especially of German criticism, root and branch objectors and disbelievers, have seized the opportunity of raising the slogan of no trafficking with Germany, no listening to the preaching of men who are "willing to draw their doctrine of God from fountains which have been poisoned with injustice and polluted with hate." And we are told that "it will be intolerable if our students, the future teachers of religion, are to resume the old theological traffic with an unrepentant and unregenerate Germany, and learn their doctrine of God at the feet of impenitent robbers and murderers." [1] Now there is grave danger here. There is a great attraction for the man in the street in the extreme position advocated, for "the vast majority are incompetent to judge on questions of Biblical Criticism." [2] But granted that we have been disposed in the past to overrate the true intellectual eminence of Germany, that is no reason why we should now deny her any greatness. We need to remind ourselves of the facts as they are. We need to keep always before us the self-evident proposition that what was true in German criticism before the war is true during the war, and will be true after the war. In the world of scholarship there is no room for illogical hate or unreasoning rejection, just as there never should have been room for placid acquiescence or foolish exaltation, for intolerant assumption or exclusive prejudice. It must not be assumed, for example, however tempting the deduction might be, that the mentality of Harnack as displayed in his letter shows him

[1] Rev. J. S. Carroll, D.D., in *The National Review*, Oct. 1917.
[2] *Life of Professor Flint*, p. 494.

incapable of correct moral judgment, or proves a complete lack of fundamental moral sense. There is just that grain of truth in such a deduction which makes it dangerous. But human personality is capable of many variations, and of displaying in quick succession seemingly opposite qualities. Man, with all his reasoning faculties, is still, as Robert Louis Stevenson put it, "made up of contradictory elements." He has a habit of keeping water-tight compartments in his mind which are not in communication with his general store of intelligence. And it is thus the ardent disciple of an impossible creed keeps safe his stock of strange beliefs, while yet remaining quite a most sceptical individual with regard to the common tales of a credible trout-fisher. A human being even in the case of a super-critic possesses a mixture of reason and emotion, and his conduct need not be expected to invariably manifest consistency.

To this even German scholars are not exceptions. In fact MM. Langlois and Seignobos noted many years ago a peculiarly Teutonic shortcoming which results in "men whose information is all that could be desired, whose Monographs destined for specialists are highly praiseworthy, showing themselves capable when writing for the public of grave offences against scientific method. The Germans are habitual offenders. These men, who are so scrupulous and minute when they are engaged in establishing details, abandon themselves in their exposition of general questions to their natural impulses like the common run of men. They take sides, they censure, they extol, they colour, they embellish, they allow themselves to be influenced by personal, patriotic, moral or metaphysical considerations." [1]

[1] *Introduction aux études historiques*, English Trans. 1898, pp. 313–314. In his preface to the latter F. York Powell also comments on "this peculiarly German shortcoming."

And as such they are not to be regarded as infallible, even as our own workers are not infallible. Take the case of Bishop Stubbs amongst our most eminent scholars. He was and is admittedly one of our greatest English historians. "To read him," said Maitland, who differed from him in politics and religion, "is a training in justice." The pages of his *Constitutional History* display an unbiassed and imperturbable fairness of judgment. In Germany he was hailed as the greatest historian of Mediæval England. Yet outside his books Stubbs expressed opinions of the narrowest and most partisan type. He denounced "the horrid Poles" in 1863, and scoffed at Garibaldi. He supported Austria in 1859. He proudly told an Oxford audience of how he had managed to secure the transference of a volume of Renan from Green to the waste-paper basket. He burned with due solemnity a volume of Herbert Spencer's, during the period when he was a Canon of St. Paul's. He openly jeered at Freeman's agitation on behalf of the victims of Turkish cruelty and misrule. And yet the pages of this violent partisan and reactionary are free from all extravagant praise or undue blame, and he boasted with truth that no man could gather his politics from any of his historical work.[1] Similarly Harnack's aberration does not utterly disqualify him from all right use of historical judgment.

But it will have served a very useful purpose if it draws attention to the fact that the opinions of any critic, however great, demand the strictest investigation; and that a line must be drawn between results which rest on objective historical remains or the like, and results which are deducted from hypotheses created by the critical mind. Because there is a tendency for these two classes of results to be

[1] See *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, by G. P. Gooch, 1913, p. 344.

so combined and interwoven that they become superficially indistinguishable, and the resultant combination is regarded as having a complete objective basis in recorded fact. And where the prestige of the writer is enormous there is all the greater danger of uncritical acceptance on the part of his disciples.

The lesson, then, that some of us need to learn anew, the lesson that we ought never to have forgotten, is one that is a commonplace of historical criticism. It is a stronger perception of the fact, with its many necessary implications, that in all historical work there is a very large element affected by subjective considerations: that there is a personal view-point with all its corollaries in the possibility of bias and arbitrary selection and warping of vision. And what renders this such an incalculably important consideration for the New Testament scholar lies in the fact, that in his particular field the inadequacy of the data in certain directions allows all the greater room for the free play of speculation based on personal predilection. And in historical criticism, as in other spheres, it is often true that—

> If self the wavering balance shake,
> It's rarely right adjusted! [1]

The historical imagination is a personal quality, and its pictures are apt to be incurably subjective. Where it is comparatively untrammelled by authority it often runs riot, and having departed at length from the dusty road of commonplace investigation it turns back to rend the scanty documents from which it started out. There comes to it the temptation to wholesale emendation or excision in the case of these documents. And to such an extent may this be yielded to, that the Canons of Criticism sarcastically sketched by Edwards for Warburton seem quite

[1] *Epistle to a Young Friend*, Burns.

applicable to many a modern scholar, and one feels with this old writer of 1748 that—

"(1) A professed critic has a right to declare that his Author wrote whatever He thinks he ought to have written; with as much positiveness, as if he had been at his elbow.

(2) He has a right to alter any passage which He does not understand.

(4) Where he does not like an expression, and yet cannot mend it, He may abuse his Author for it.

(5) Or He may condemn it, as a foolish interpolation.

(9) He may interpret his Author so as to make him mean directly contrary to what He says.[1]

Now one of Lord Acton's favourite sayings was to the effect that history must stand on documents, not on opinions. Yet there is ground for the charge that most modern reconstructions of the rise of Christianity are built mainly on the latter. Possibilities have a strange habit of growing into certainties when gazed at intently for a prolonged period, probable results deduced from these in turn are assumed as new data, and so the airy chain goes on without any evident apprehension of the fact that beyond the negligible chance of a lucky guess, the so-called "results" are merely "shadows not substantial things." Then it is by these "shadows" that the original documents are confidently tested, emended and interpreted. The consideration that theories involving wholesale excisions and radical emendations may not be solutions of a problem arising out of these documents is disregarded. For men forget that in this way the knot is not unravelled but simply cut.

The man who is obsessed by such a theory seems capable of dealing with any written evidence short of practically demonstrative testimony in a most marvellous fashion. Thus Wellhausen, believing that Jesus was not a Christian

[1] These are discussed in a recent article by Austin Dobson, in *The National Review* of Sept. 1917.

but a Jew, removes chh. viii. 27–x. 45 from the Gospel according to Mark on the ground that this section is plainly Christian.[1] Jesus cannot have spoken thus, therefore He never spake thus, etc. In short, the whole attitude of the critic to evidence is affected by his theory. He is possessed by it. He desires to be scrupulously accurate in his statement of testimony. He is sublimely unconscious of undue discrimination, but at the same time incapable of unbiassed judgment. He will, without deliberate intent, but none the less surely, treat evidence in support of his theory less stringently than evidence making against it. And the extravagantly subjective nature of his methods strikes with particular amazement the student who comes from the study of secular history.

Take for example the highly complicated question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, a question concerning which the present writer's mind is entirely open. Here surely one might expect the judicial attitude to find full and fit scope for the exercise of both restraint and scrupulous exactitude. And yet this is a field where, in the case of many modern critics, prepossessions so determine their attitude to evidence that they seem at times to lose entirely the sense of proportion.

Dr. Moffatt, for example, in company with many other learned scholars, cites a statement in the De Boor fragment (which seems to be an anonymous eighth century epitome of the Chronicle of Philip Sidetes of the fifth century), and regards it coupled with a similar statement of Georgios Hamartolos (ninth century) as so reliable, that it "removes all doubts as to whether Papias really wrote something to the effect that John was killed by the Jews." Their united testimony renders it "indubitable that the

[1] *Einleitung in die drei ereten Evangelien*, 81 ff. *Das Evangelium Marci*, 65 f.

work of Papias must have contained some statement of this nature about the two sons of Zebedee." [1] An ordinary secular historian finds it difficult to accept the phrase "removes all doubts" and also the word "indubitable" as used in their quoted connections. Their use in fact is wholly unjustifiable. These authorities are late, and are in addition both inaccurate and unreliable. Dr. Moffatt admits that Philip's reputation as an independent historian is not particularly high. And the work of George the Sinner is demonstrably inaccurate. In the very passage where the latter cites Papias as his authority for the statement regarding the martyrdom of John the Apostle, he buttresses that statement by what we know to be a wholly erroneous reference to Origen. In citing Papias' testimony he wrongly speaks of him as an "eye-witness of the fact." And he also represents Papias as using the phrase "John the Divine," a phrase which is not considered to have been in use before the fourth century. Then we must also note the fact that the words referring to the martyrdom of John occur in only one of the twenty-eight MSS. of the Georgios. All the others represent him as dying in peace.

Now in dealing with evidence so manifestly weak the use of the word "indubitable" is outside the bounds of reasonable deduction. That the distorted and inaccurate statement we possess had its origin in something of Papias is quite possible. But no historian with a strongly developed judicial sense would regard it, without independent confirmation, as an indubitable foundation whereon to build. Nor would he complacently assume, in the face of all its weakness, that "there does not appear to be any particularly strong ground for the rejection of the Papias tradition." [2] He would be much more justified in saying

[1] *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, 603 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 605.

that there does not appear to be any particularly strong ground for the acceptance of it.

But Dr. Moffatt, postulating its truth, goes on to supply further evidence for John the Apostle's martyrdom in the fact that some late Calendars reflect a belief in it. Yet there ought to be no question amongst historians regarding the worthlessness of uncorroborated evidence supplied by Martyrologies, and the uselessness of inferences based on their correspondence with fact. To speak of such as historical evidence is a gross abuse of the term.

Then "further confirmation of this, the earliest tradition upon John the Apostle," is alleged to be "furnished incidentally by Herakleon, the early gnostic commentator on the Fourth Gospel,[1] who mentions, in connexion with Luke xii. 11–12, those who had escaped martyrdom, Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi and many others. John's name is significantly omitted from the list, for in view of his contemporary importance it is hardly possible that he could have been included in the "many others."[2]

Now passing by the inherent weakness of the argument from silence what does this amount to? Herakleon, in the passage referred to, distinguishes between a confession made by faith and conduct, and one with the voice. He goes on to state that the confession that is made with the voice and before the authorities, is what most reckon to be the only confession. But this, he says, is wrong, for even hypocrites can make such a confession. And it is also wrong because it will not be found to be spoken universally; "for all the saved have confessed with the confession made by the voice and departed; of whom are Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi and many others." Now no one could have included John in this list of those who had not confessed

[1] Clement, *Stromata*, iv. 9.

[2] *Introduction to Literature of New Testament*, p. 606.

in voice *before the magistrates*, in the face of Patmos, and of the current legend that related his being condemned to immersion in a cauldron of boiling oil. Consequently his absence from Herakleon's list adds absolutely nothing to the reliability of the hypothesis of martyrdom by the Jews.

In all this, however, Dr. Moffatt is not alone. He is a good representative of a powerful school, and he follows Schmiedel and many other foreign critics whom he industriously cites. And by all such critics these same items of evidence are treated tenderly because they are props to a theory regarding the date of John the Apostle's death, a date which vitally affects the question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. But while one most willingly acquits Dr. Moffatt of any consciously unfair discrimination, one cannot help reflecting that he would feel bound to deal more adequately with similar evidence did it make against his view of the Apostle's end.

Much more might be written concerning this aspect of modern criticism, and of the practical effects produced on the work of those who are hag-ridden by a theory, but it is apparent to most except the victims themselves that it is such work which still gives point to Browning's scornful jibe—

> Go on, you shall no more move my gravity
> Than, when I see boys ride a-cock-horse
> I find it in my heart to embarrass them
> By hinting that their stick's a mock horse,
> And they really carry what they say carries them.[1]

All this, however, regarding the influence of prepossessions on criticism is the merest commonplace, but it requires new emphasis, because in our blind adoration of German method and German historical reconstructions it was in grave practical danger of being ignored. Ponderous tomes were read with awe and reverence because they displayed

[1] "Christmas Eve."

unbounded erudition and colossal research, and overwhelmed with the learning displayed we often forgot that the most elaborate and ingenious trains of reasoning are invalidated by the introduction of a shaky premiss. Sir William Robertson Nicoll's Scotchman, who undertook to prove the inferiority of English grapes to those of his native land, began at the root of the matter when he said, "I maun premeese that I like grapes sour!"[1] And if all of us were compelled to do what he did voluntarily, and state our premisses and discover our concealed suppositions before we begin to reconstruct the New Testament age, the result would be interesting and a distinct gain. Because it is these that lie at the root of our varying attitudes toward all the evidence there is, and our varying treatment of that evidence. We need only take a general view of the processes by which some of our widely different critical results are attained to enable us to see how true it is that time and again—

> Each states the law and fact and face of the thing
> Just as he'd have them, finds what he thinks fit,
> Is blind to what missuits him, just records
> What makes his case out, quite ignores the rest.[2]

Now what one desires first of all is the clearer recognition of the fact that most of the controversies arising from the Gospels spring from these conflicting presuppositions. For when this fact is clearly and constantly kept in view, much useless discussion will be avoided and attention will be concentrated on the vital points at issue. Then following this, an independent and careful examination of these presuppositions at the hands of our British scholars (rather than mere acceptance and classification and sifting of results flowing from them) will clarify our critical atmosphere.

[1] *The Day Book of Claudius Clear*, 66.
[2] Quoted by Illingworth in *Reason and Revelation*, chap. iv.

And there will be room for a fearless and worthy effort to arrive at opinions which will be the fruits of fundamental investigation and wholly untrammelled research. Thus and thus only can British scholarship make its due and worthy contribution to the great questions at issue. And thus will the impetus given to the popular outcry against Biblical Criticism by its dependence on Germany be counterbalanced.

In the course of this new start it may or may not be discovered by us, that the number of conflicting views on various questions arising out of the New Testament writings is evidence, not of the ability and ingenuity of the critics, but of the inadequacy of the data for the purposes for which they have been used. At any rate the relative scantiness of our documentary evidence in many directions must be fairly recognised, if there is to be any end to unprofitable speculation. It will not be forgotten that nine-tenths of the public life and work of Jesus is unrecorded, nor that in some important respects our knowledge of New Testament times is exceedingly meagre. And from a more vivid realisation of what has perished compared to the writings that have survived, some wholesome check may be placed at last on that most treacherous of arguments, the *argumentum e silentio*.

The ever present temptation to assert where the grounds are insecure must be sternly resisted. One of the first-fruits of sound historical research is the practice of suspending judgment where the facts available are insufficient for decision. "In history it often happens that the best executed monographs furnish no other result than the proof that knowledge is impossible. It is necessary to resist the desire which leads some to round off with subjective, ambitious and vague conclusions monographs which will not bear them. The proper conclusion of a

good monograph is the balance sheet of the results obtained by it and the points left doubtful." [1] Clarity of outline, definiteness of statement and simplicity of explanation are popular, and they fascinate the untrained mind, but in dealing with the tangled web of history these are too often purchased at the expense of vital considerations which are entirely ignored. The accurate completeness of the finished map of the past exists only in its owner's mind. As has been reiterated time and again, history must stand in the last resort on documents and not on opinions.

Then because the appreciation of a personality is not entirely a mechanical task we shall "approach the Gospels in the spirit of those who are as ready to be taught as to sit in judgment," [2] and we shall remember the warning of Matthew Arnold in reference to the Synoptic portrait of Jesus that He ever transcended the efforts of His disciples to understand Him. In this connexion also the fascination of psychological reconstruction with regard to Jesus will not blind us to the fact that the very nature of the problem makes such a method of very precarious value. The Gospels are not modern psychological novels, and the evolution of the Messianic consciousness (if it did evolve) is an undivulged secret of the Master's "which no psychology can fathom." [3] For the main contents of that consciousness we have varied testimony, but speculation as to its origin and development has a habit of becoming but loosely connected with the sayings of the Gospels.

Finally, in an age when the authority of the German expert has resulted in a very considerable suppression of independent judgment, students will have continued need

[1] MM. Langlois and Seignobos. *Introduction aux études historiques*, English trans., 306 ff.

[2] *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, pp. 23, 24.

[3] See Art. on "Consciousness," C. F. D'Arcy, *Hastings' Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 365.

of Lord Acton's advice to all historical workers—"Guard against the prestige of great names."*

R. L. MARSHALL.

* A Lecture on the Study of History delivered at Cambridge, June 11th, 1895 (Macmillan & Co.), p. 62.

To this maxim Lord Acton appends the following apt quotation:

"Nunquam propter auctoritatem illorum, quamvis magni sint nominis (supponimus scilicet semper nos cum eo agere qui scientiam historicam vult consequi), sententias quas secuti sunt ipse tamquam certas admittet, sed solummodo ob vim testimoniorum et argumentorum quibus eas confirmarunt." De Smedt, *Introductio ad historiam critice tractandam* 1866, i. 5.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER OF THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

INTRODUCTORY PART.

NOTHING even approaching finality is so far in sight regarding either the authorship of the song known as that of Deborah or the interpretation of the difficult passages in which it may almost be said to abound. The two ablest and most representative expositions of it published since the beginning of the present century are unquestionably those of Professor G. F. Moore (in volume on "Judges" in *The International Critical Commentary*, 2nd edition, 1908) and Principal G. A. Smith (in *Early Poetry of Israel in its Physical and Social Origins*, Schweich Lectures, 1910; published 1912); but the contrast presented by several of their results is quite as striking as the ability displayed by each of the two writers in their respective presentations of the poem. The erudite and excessively critical author of the Commentary refuses to translate a rather considerable proportion of lines and half-lines on the ground of utter textual corruption, and he is strongly disinclined to believe in Deborah's authorship of the poem; whereas the brilliant and finely sympathetic Schweich lecturer, though allowing himself a liberal use of the sign

of interrogation, gives a rendering of every line of it and emphatically declares Deborah herself to have been the author of the song, whilst at the same time apparently prepared to leave the question of Barak's participation in it an open one. There are, besides, some interesting differences between them with regard to passages of which translations are offered by both; and as an illustration of diversity of literary judgment it is specially significant to observe that the last verse of the composition as embodied in the Book of Judges is in the *International Commentary* definitely regarded as an integral part of the original poem, whereas doubt is thrown on its authenticity in the Schweich Lectures.

The investigation of ancient geography may probably claim to be more advanced than any other branch of antiquarian learning connected with Biblical studies; but even here we find the identification of the name Megiddo with that of the Nahr Muqaṭṭa proposed by G. A. Smith in his *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1897) emphatically rejected by G. F. Moore. With regard to the mention of Dan in verse 17, both writers think of the northern branch of the tribe; but why not rather the southern branch of it in accordance with another well supported opinion? An important historical problem is, furthermore, presented by the absence of any mention of Judah, Simeon, and Levi in the song, and here the explanations or rather part-explanations offered by the two authors named are greatly at variance (*see International Commentary*, p. 134, note; *Schweich Lectures*, pp. 80–81.

On all these matters and others besides (as e.g. the exact relation of the poem to the prose narrative contained in chapter iv.) future investigators are likely to exercise their faculties of research and reconstruction with, perhaps, the aid of fuller knowledge and a wider vision than is ours

at the present time. The paper now laid before the reader merely represents a fresh attempt to deal with the text of the poem, and to promote a correct appreciation of its contents as well as their bearing on the events it describes and on the problem of authorship. Any other matter that may be introduced will only come in incidentally and will, in each case, subserve the main thought or argument under consideration.

In order to bring out clearly the fresh points of view from which the present writer has been led to regard some parts of the contents, it will be necessary to give a sketch of the entire composition together with some adequately full remarks of an expository character whenever such are specially needed.

Contents and interpretation. The poem falls into three main divisions: I., verses 2–7; II., verses 8–18; III., verses 19–31. Division I. consists of three sections: 1. Exordium of praise and summons to kings and princes to listen (*vv.* 2–3). 2. Yahweh's coming from His seat in the south to support the Israelites in their impending struggle for freedom and supremacy (*vv.* 4–5).[1] 3. The sad plight from which Israel was to be delivered: Rise of Deborah (*vv.* 6–7).

The second division falls into two sections: 1. The summons and preparation for war, preceded by another significant glance at Israel's helpless condition (*vv.* 8–12).

Verse 8 has been generally attached to the preceding section, and the verses that follow have been interpreted as part of the triumph occasioned by the victory. But a close examination of this section of the song and its relation to the entire composition reveals a totally different aspect of it. Verse 7 having brought us to the rise of Deborah,

[1] A description of the giving of the Law would hardly be in its place here; compare 2 Sam. xxii. 8 *sqq.*

the poet naturally proceeds next to a rapid and flash-like description of the steps she had taken to reorganise and reinvigorate the nation under the banner of Yahweh. As a preliminary to this, verse 8 pictures the total inability of Israel to make a stand against their foes. The cause of the national weakness was the exchange of Yahweh for new gods, or, in other words, the abandonment of their high divine ideal for low and debasing kinds of cults. In order to infuse new life, the life of the power of Yahweh, into the people, she, therefore, first turned to Israel's accredited religious teachers, who were both the repositories of Yahweh's law and the potential guides of the nation. The result was at once most encouraging. The men to whom she had appealed did their part readily and with enthusiasm, and many of the people came forward to devote themselves henceforth to the nation's and Yahweh's cause. The prophetess then issued an urgent call to the principal classes of the tribal communities, the nobles, the men of wealth, and the traders.[1] To all of them came the earnest and inspiriting word: "'Meditate deeply' on the present condition of things, and consider what we ought to do in order to bring about the much desired change." Her efforts were again everywhere successful, but particularly so among those fit for military service, who set to work at once practising zealously with the bow,[2] and by way of keeping up their enthusiasm were reciting the faithful dealings of Yahweh with His people in past times.[3] Everything was at last ready. The people of Yahweh, described in the opening line of the next section as the remnant, but now much more than a remnant, because of the recent swelling of their numbers, went down to the gate of the cities to take up without delay the practical business of fighting,

[1] The reader is asked to refer to the Notes with reference to this and other statements in this part of the paper.

[2] Comp. 2 Sam. i. 18. [3] Comp. Ps. lxxvii. 6 *sqq.*

and to Deborah and Barak themselves came, partly as a voice which made itself felt in their own personal consciousness, and partly as a demand coming from the people around them, the clear and decisive call to proceed at once from the preparatory stage to the activities of the great campaign before them (*v.* 12).

Viewed in this light, the present section fills an appropriate and necessary place in the series of moving events depicted by the poet. Israel's complete breakdown is followed by the reanimating and reorganising labours undertaken by Deborah; and when this is finished, there follows (section 2 of division II., *vv.* 13–18) an account of the muster of the tribes and the battle-array. The tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali, who had, indeed, been the greatest sufferers under the oppression of the northern Canaanites, sent the largest and most determined contingents to the battlefield. Issachar, nearest neighbour to these two tribes, stood next in point of numbers, warlike counsel, and valour. Ephraim and Benjamin were also well represented, whilst from Machir (Manasseh) there came—besides, no doubt, a fair number of warriors—dispensers and guardians of the laws of Yahweh, who, together with the able pen- and draughtsmen (probably, among other duties, also taking an active part in enrolling the troops) from Zebulun formed a necessary branch of the thorough warlike organisation established by Deborah, who clearly recognised that nothing satisfactory could be accomplished by the people without the support and stimulating influence of the men of intelligence, light, and ability who constituted, as it were, the higher soul and conscience of the nation.

There were, however, also failures among the tribes. Reuben was at first divided in its counsels, hesitated, and finally abandoned the idea of helping their northern brethren. They quietly remained between their sheepfolds far away

to the south on the eastern side of Jordan. Great had been "the resolves of heart" among many of their clans, and a contingent of them was expected to arrive at the scene of battle; but at their failure to appear, great were the "searchings of heart" among the assembling armies in trying to realise and understand the unbrotherly attitude of the eldest among the tribes. Gilead (Gad), though nearer the scene of warlike effort, also refused to leave their homes on the other side of Jordan; and Dan and Asher, whose territories bordered on that of the populations arming for the fight, remained equally unmoved by the appeals which had been addressed to them. But in spite of it all the struggle was going to succeed. Enthusiasm and courage animated the newly formed armies. Zebulun in particular staked its very existence on the success of the undertaking, and Naphtali too was found "where the battle raged most fiercely."

One important observation yet remains to be added to what has been said regarding this section. When we are told that "the princes of Issachar were with Deborah," whilst the people of Issachar "were sped into the valley" in the following of Barak, we seem to have placed before us an animated picture of Deborah, surrounded by a well-chosen band of princes, counsellors, and strategists, watching—and when necessary, directing—the operations from headquarters situated on a convenient hill overlooking the battle-ground. Barak, leading the Israelitish hosts arrayed on the plain of Esdraelon, was, as he had himself desired, supported throughout by the high genius of Deborah; and she, by whose strength of soul the entire movement had been organised, remained from the beginning to the end the bold and unfaltering mainstay of the tribes engaged in the fierce struggle for existence and honour.

Division III. contains three sections: 1. The descrip-

tion of the battle (*vv.* 19–22). The successive stages are touched upon with flash-like and powerful rapidity. The result of the first onrush of the armies against each other, and, may be, of several succeeding clashes of arms, proved undecisive. All that the poet could say was that the enemy achieved no gain whatsoever. Then came the catastrophe which hurled the Canaanites into ruin. A heavy rain-storm began to beat violently against their faces, whilst the Israelites either found themselves outside the gusts of rain or stood with their backs against it. At this favourable moment Barak led a charge which the enemy was powerless to parry. They fled in the direction of the river Kishon which lay in their rear. But when they reached that water-course, they found it swollen and turbulent with the torrents that had poured into it from the skies and, by way of the tributaries, from the surrounding hills. As the Israelites were still pursuing, they had no choice but to attempt a crossing; but in so doing large numbers of them were swept away by the raging waters. When Deborah, who was eagerly watching the course of events from her position of vantage with her council of experts and chiefs, saw what was happening, she called out, or in her high elation of spirit felt the emotion which such a cry expresses: "Thou steppest forth with might, thy strength is asserting itself, thou art prevailing, O my soul!" And presently she saw those who had escaped from death in the river galloping away for life in reckless and utter confusion.

2. There follows (*a*) a curse on Meroz for not having come to the help of Yahweh, that is apparently for having allowed Sisera, and, perhaps, other fugitives besides, to pass safely through it; and (*b*) a blessing on Jael for having bravely slain the enemy's chief commander, and thus accomplished what the people of Meroz had left undone (*vv.* 23–27). The translation given of this section in the

present paper is in substantial agreement with the Revised Version; and as no modern paraphrase is needed to make clear the striking picture presented by (*b*), observations on points regarding which a difference of opinion exists may be reserved for the Notes.

3. The same remark applies in the main to the last section (*vv.* 28–31), which in a vein of incisive irony describes the fears and forebodings of the mother of Sisera that are but imperfectly assuaged by delusive visions of plentiful booty. The only observation that need be made in this place is that, as the poem could hardly have concluded with verse 30, the original authenticity of the last verse must be acknowledged, notwithstanding its much smoother cadence and general impression of a later tone which it seems to convey. The clause, "And the land remained at peace for forty years," is, of course, part of the historical framework of the Book of Judges.

Authorship. In his Schweich Lectures, Principal G. A. Smith refers (*a*) to the internal evidence of a woman's authorship of the song afforded by "the character and temper of the verses on Jael and the mother of Sisera," and (*b*) to the fact that among Israel's kinsmen the Arabs "similar songs are frequently the work of women," who were often "either actors in the scene they celebrated or closely associated with these." But if the view here taken of certain parts of the song be the right one, there is assuredly also some very strong evidence of a direct kind in favour of Deborah's authorship to be found in it. For on what other theory can a proper and natural meaning be assigned to the cry, "Thou steppest forth with might, O my soul!" at the end of verse 21? If Deborah herself, who was the life and soul of the undertaking, composed the poem, the line is clear, significant, and almost inevitable; she repeats in the song what she felt at the decisive moment of the

battle. But if some one else wrote it, the words in question could only have been uttered on the supposition that the poet found himself (or herself) literally writing in the power and spirit of Deborah, that, in fact, the soul of the author was for the time being completely identified with the soul of the prophetess. But rather than adopt such a supposition, it is surely more reasonable to assign the authorship to Deborah herself, who, as the great seer of her age, must in any case be regarded as the highest genius of sacred song among her contemporaries.[1] It was she, and none else, who was called upon to indite a song in order to heighten the zeal and courage of the armies going forth to battle (*v.* 12), and we have the best right possible to think that she, and none other, was the author of the ode of victory when the battle was fought and won.

What has just been said in confirmation of Deborah's authorship of the song might suffice, but there is, besides, some other evidence which must be mentioned. In verse 13 we have the line, "The people of Yahweh came down to me[2] among the heroes." Such a declaration could only have been made by either Deborah or Barak, but as the latter was in all likelihood a warrior possessed of no special gifts of a poetic nature (see the contrast in the call addressed to him and the prophetess in v. 12), the claim of authorship rests reasonably on the side of Deborah alone. The line, "My heart then turned to the law-dispensers

[1] With reference to the connection of poetry with the prophetic gift, we have to remember that prophetic utterance has almost always a high poetic ring about it, elevation of soul naturally carrying with it beauty and harmony of language. Music also is at times involved in it, as can be gathered from 1 Sam. x. 5; 2 Kings iii. 15. In these cases harmony of sound served to rouse the spirit to a state of fervent communion with the Deity.

[2] B and two other uncials have αὐτῷ = לו, but the received text is as worthy of credit in this place as certain MSS. of the Greek, which in some places elsewhere in the poem fails to yield satisfactory sense.

in Israel,"[1] would, again, seem to suggest the authorship of Deborah rather than that of any one else. In the light, therefore, of what has now been said on this question, the rendering, "Until I Deborah arose" in verse 7 appears much preferable to "Until thou Deborah didst arise,"[2] although it is true, as Principal G. A. Smith has pointed out, that even if so translated, the line would not be incompatible with Deborah's authorship, as there is no reason why she should not—as, indeed, she also does in verse 12—name herself in the second person.

Condition of the text. Detailed remarks on a number of passages which have been declared utterly corrupt by a number of critics will be found in the Notes. In this place only a general plea, based on the suggestions there made, will be entered in favour of the substantial accuracy of the received text even in the middle part of the poem[3] which is supposed to have suffered most. It can hardly be a correct attitude first to declare the song older by some centuries than the earlier documents of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua and even than the earliest portions of 1 and 2 Samuel, and then to be surprised at finding in it words and phrases that seem strange and hard to reconcile with the conception of the language derived from later compositions. We must, whenever a reasonable possibility can be shown to exist, be content to learn from

[1] The deviation of the rendering here adopted from the usual translation makes no difference in this respect, as it is only the word לִבִּי, "my heart," which is now to be considered.

[2] The Greek and Latin "Until Deborah arose" (3rd person) is, in any case, discounted by most moderns.

[3] It is pleasant to note that the present occupant of the Hebrew chair at Oxford, when writing on the subject in 1892 (*The History and Song of Deborah*, by G. A. Cooke), expresses the opinion that "it is possible to extract sufficient sense from these middle verses (7-15), though no doubt the text has suffered." But it is here contended that, with but few alterations, the text as it stands makes admirable, instead of merely passable, sense.

the poem itself the character of the Hebrew speech that was then in use; and we must, moreover, transfer ourselves as completely as possible into the mental atmosphere of the time and allow ourselves to be instructed by the condition of things we find there and the special powers manifested by the ruling genius of the occasion. If we do this, we shall—even with regard to the language of the time—be more likely to reach results that will stand the test of sound criticism than if we merely proceed on the cold analytical line of investigation to which we have long been accustomed. Analysis and keen criticism there must be, but synthesis and life are even more important than they.

Only a few further remarks need now be added. Concerning the rhythm it must here suffice to say that it is wonderfully rich in varying effects, changing, like many a modern ode, with the changing mood, the alternating thought, and the shifting scene. Readers desirous of making a careful up-to-date study of this part of the subject may be referred to G. A. Smith's Schweich Lectures, H. T. Fowler's *A History of the Literature of Ancient Israel* (1912), p. 21 *sqq.*, as well as to the list of authorities (some of them, however, representing vagaries) given by G. F. Moore on p. 136.

The present writer's sole aim throughout the translation here offered has been to find the true meaning of the Hebrew and to express the same in appropriate English. But there has purposely been no attempt to reproduce any of the rhythms of the original or to give a rhythmical rendering of any kind. It might, indeed, be possible to produce a more tasteful or more striking rendering of the song as now understood; but it may, on the other hand, be taken for granted that no translation can embody the full beauty or exact force of a great poem composed at least three

millenniums ago in the early form of a language belonging to an entirely different group of human speech.

TRANSLATION OF THE SONG.

1. [And Deborah and Barak the Son of Abinoam
Sang on that day, saying:]

2. When enthusiasm breaks out in Israel,
When the people devotedly come forward,
Bless ye Yahweh.

3. Hear ye, O kings, give ear, O princes;
I, to Yahweh I will sing,
Yahweh, the God of Israel, will I hymn.

4. O Yahweh, when thou camest forth from Seir,
When thou marchedst out of the field of Edom,
The earth trembled, the heavens quaked,
The clouds dripped water.

5. The mountains streamed before Yahweh,
Before Yahweh, the God of Israel.

6. In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath,
In the days of Joel, caravans ceased,
And who were wont to travel on prepared roads
Now journeyed by round-about ways.

7. Government ceased in Israel, it ceased,
Until I, Deborah, arose,
Until I arose, a mother in Israel.

8. When they chose new gods,
Then was war in the gates;
Was there a shield seen or spear
Among forty thousand in Israel?

9. My heart then turned to the dispensers of law in Israel;
Ye who devotedly come forward among the people,
Give blessing to Yahweh.

10. Ye that ride on tawny asses,
Ye that on divans recline,
And ye who move along the road,
Meditate deeply on it.

11. Where the twang of arrows resounds,
Between wells of bubbling water,[1]
There recount they the faithful acts of Yahweh,

[1] For the literal meaning of this verse see the Notes.

The faithful acts of his sovereignty in Israel.
Then went down to the gates the people of Yahweh:

12. "Rouse thee, rouse thee, Deborah,
Rouse thee, rouse thee, utter a song;
Arise, Barak, and bring in thy captives, son of Abinoam.

13. Then came down the remnant to the mighty ones,
The people of Yahweh came down to me among the heroes.

14. Out of Ephraim—they whose root is in Amalek;
Thy brother Benjamin among thy ranks.
Out of Machir came down dispensers of law
And from Zebulun they that wield the scribe's reed.

15. And the princes of Issachar—with Deborah,
And Issachar's people with Barak:
Into the valley were they sped in his following.
Among the clans of Reuben
Great were the resolves of heart.

16. Why didst thou stay between the sheepfolds,
To listen to the piping for the flocks?
Concerning the clans of Reuben
Great were the searchings of heart.

17. Gilead remained unmoved beyond Jordan,
And Dan, why does he keep to ships for his abode?
Asher stayed away by the sea-board
And by its creeks he calmly abides.

18. Zebulun—a people that has scorned his life to the death,
And Naphtali—where the battle most fiercely raged.[1]

19. The Kings came, they fought,
Then fought the kings of Canaan
At Taanach by the waters of Megiddo.
Not the slightest gain did they achieve.[2]

20. The powers of heaven fought,[3]
The stars from their courses
Fought against Sisera.

21. The river Kishon swept them away,
The torrent-swollen river, the river Kishon.
Thou steppest forth with might, O my soul!

22. Then thudded the hoofs of horses,
Because of the gallop-galloping of their mighty ones.

[1] Literally: "Upon the heights of the (battle) field."
[2] Literally: "Not a piece of silver did they take."
[3] Literally: "From heaven they fought."

23. Curse ye Meroz, says the messenger of Yahweh,
Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof,
For they came not to the help of Yahweh,
To the help of Yahweh among the heroes.

24. Blessed above women be Jael,
Above women in the tent be she blessed.

25. Water he asked, milk she gave,
In a lordly bowl presented she curd.

26. Her hand she stretched to the tent-pin,
And her right hand to the workmen's hammer,
And she struck Sisera, she crushed his head;
She shattered and pierced through his temples.

27. At her feet he sank down, he fell, he lay,
At her feet he sank down, he fell
Where he sank down, there fell he, undone.

28. Through the window she peered and whined,
The mother of Sisera through the lattice:
"Why does his chariotry delay its coming?
Why tarry the hoof-beats of his chariots?"

29. The sagest of her princesses reply,
Yea, she returns answer to herself:

30. "They are no doubt finding, dividing booty,
A damsel or two for every man,
Booty of dyed stuffs for Sisera,
Booty of dyed stuffs embroidered,
Dyed stuffs doubly embroidered for the conqueror's[1] neck."

31. Thus shall perish all thine enemies, O Yahweh!
But they that love him
Shall be as the sun,
When he arises in his strength.

[And the land remained at peace for forty years.]

NOTES.

Preliminary Remark.—Special attention will be given in the following pages to a consideration of the fresh or much disputed renderings adopted in the translation of the poem. But completeness must not be expected, and in a number of instances the notes will be of a particularly limited character, as on points of a less special nature the

[1] Literally "despoilers"; see Notes.

student can find further information, as well as lists of authorities on different sides of the questions raised, in G. F. Moore's volume on *Judges* or another comprehensive commentary. Special mention must, however, be made of J. Bachmann's *Das Buch der Richter, etc.* (Berlin, 1868–9; breaking off with ch. v.), which is the most extensive modern work on the subject, besides being one of the most valuable ones.

Verse 1. It is possible that the compiler of the history meant to convey the idea that Barak was associated with Deborah both in the composition and the recital of the song (but see reference to a contrary interpretation of the verse in Moore, p. 138), though in a subordinated capacity; compare the exact grammatical parallel (3rd pers. sing. fem., followed by Miriam and Aaron as subjects) in Numbers xii. 1.

It should also be mentioned that the singing of the song was in all likelihood punctuated at suitable intervals by instrumental music; compare Exodus xv. 20. The word אָזַמֵּר, "I will hymn," in verse 3 includes, in fact, both instrumental and vocal performance.

Verse 2. The rendering "When enthusiasm breaks out in Israel" is less of an innovation than may appear at first sight. It has, indeed, been in a manner anticipated by Dr. E. G. King (*Early Religious Poetry of the Hebrews*, Cambridge University Press, 1911), who translates: "For Israel's whole self-abandonment." The idea is based on the connexion of פרע פרעות with the meaning of "letting loose" borne by the root in Numbers v. 18, Leviticus x. 6, xiii. 45, xxi. 10 (hence the noun פֶּרַע in Numbers vi. 5, Ezekiel xliv. 20 to denote "hair of locks of the head as growing loose or free." This signification of the phrase is already found in the recension [1] of the Greek represented

[1] On the view that we have in reality to deal, not with two recensions, but two different Greek versions of "Judges," see Moore, Introduction, § 8.

by B and allied MSS. (*ἀποκαλύφθη ἀποκάλυμμα*; Symmachus clearer still: *ἐν τῷ ἀνακαλύψασθαι κεφαλάς*), and has been readily adopted by a number of modern scholars. Hence Moore's suggestion: "With long streaming locks in Israel," though it would have been better to give preference to: "When long streaming locks are prevalent in Israel" (Moore's own alternative, giving to ב with infinitive its temporal sense). But what was it that lay behind the practice of wearing long streaming locks? It was in the case of the Nazirite clearly expressive of a special degree of enthusiasm in the cause of Yahweh. The virtue residing in loose hair that had never been cut is specially shown in the case of Samson; and when in one of the passages already cited (Num. vi. 5) the Nazirite is enjoined to grow long loose hair, the intention was apparently not only to symbolise, but to a certain degree actually to engender the enthusiasm and power with which the wearer of it was to be endowed. It seems, therefore, right to render the phrase before us, in accordance with its definite and direct connotation: "When enthusiasm breaks out in Israel," instead of insisting on the literal meaning: "long streaming locks," the former rendering conveying a clear and essentially correct idea to the modern reader, whilst the latter cannot be understood without a special explanation.

The further suggestion may, indeed, be made that there is here more than a connotation of meaning, but that in the early stages of the language the root פרע actually expressed the direct sense of "acting with enthusiasm," in the same way as in later times it was employed to denote behaviour of a wild or unbridled character (akin to the root פרא), see Exodus xxxii. 35; Proverbs xxix. 18; for there are two sides to the idea of giving oneself up entirely (or, as Dr. King has it: "whole self-abandonment") to

the service of a special object. It may, on the one hand, appear as mere wildness or absence of restraint, and it may, on the other hand, take the form of genuine and high-souled enthusiasm in a noble cause.

In further justification of the rendering here adopted it must suffice to add that the usual translation: "For that the leaders took the lead in Israel," which is based on a group of Greek MSS. headed by A, yields (apart from the doubtful meaning of פַּרְעוֹת in Deut. xxxii. 42 [see the Oxford edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Lexicon, 1907, p. 828],[1] with which it is held to be connected) after all only a flat kind of sense, considering that it is, of course, the ordinarily proper course for leaders to take the lead. The rendering: "For the retribution, or avenging of Israel's wrongs" (Peshitta, Targum, and Jewish commentaries) is based on an Aramaic meaning of the root not used in Hebrew, and has, besides, a late Midrashic ring about it. Luther's "Das Israel wider frey ist worden" can hardly be extracted from the text. The last-named two translations also fail to present a satisfactory parallel to the clause that follows.

הִתְנַדֵּב, in most of the passages in which it occurs, means "making freewill offerings"; but in 2 Chronicles xvii. 16, Nehemiah xi. 2 it denotes "volunteering for personal service." In the verse before us and verse 9 of the song it may safely be taken to signify both kinds of service; hence the proposed translation, "When the people devotedly come forward," i.e. with either offers of personal service, gifts of value, or both.

Verse 4. The original text can hardly have had נטפו (dropped) in two successive clauses. For יִרְגְּזוּ, which is suggested in place of the first נטפו, see 2 Samuel xxii. 8 (a

[1] In further references this work will be cited under the symbol O.G.L., whilst the Oxford 2nd edition of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar (1910) will appear as O.G.H.G.

passage of rather similar bearing in David's song of triumph). It is there predicated of the "foundations of the heavens"; but compare Isaiah xiii. 13, where the Hiphil of the same verse is applied to the heavens themselves. [There is, however, this difference that in both passages named the wrath of the Deity against enemies is distinctly kept in view, whilst here only majesty and power are apparently portrayed.] Moore is inclined to favour נָמֹגוּ ("be violently agitated"; Budde and others), but that verb is nowhere else used with שָׁמַיִם. Professor C. F. Kent's *Narratives of the Beginning of Hebrew History*, p. 321): "the heavens also dripped. Yea, the clouds dropped water," almost looks like an attempt to reproduce the variation between the pausal נָטְפוּ and נָטְפוּ in the next clause.—Psalm lxviii. 9 shows that נטפו in the first clause is very ancient, but the next clause is omitted there.

Verse 5. "The mountains streamed before Yahweh" (retaining the Masoretic reading נָזְלוּ), i.e. the torrents coming down from the clouds streamed down the sides of the mountains (so also Moore and G. A. Smith), and with the rush of the waters parts of the mountains themselves would be loosened and come down.

זה סיני appears to have been originally a marginal Judaic gloss which was by a later scribe incorporated in the text. A writer of northern Palestine would have put Horeb instead of Sinai.

Verse 6. The mention of Shamgar in the song vouches for his historical character, although the record of his rule in Judges iii. 31 is no doubt a later insertion (see Moore, p. 105). There is a disposition to regard the name שַׁמְגַּר as Hittite (see *ibid.* p. 106; O.G.L. p. 1029), but why not explain it as a shaphel from the Hebrew מגר, "to throw, to toss"? Nor does his non-Israelitish origin follow from the name Anath (a heathen female deity) borne by his

father (or mother ?), considering that קִישׁ, the name of Saul's father and of three other Israelites, was also originally a heathen deity [1] (see O.G.L. *s.v.*).

There seems to be no sufficient justification for suspecting the genuineness of "in the days of Jael"; for what could have been the motive for its subsequent insertion? As the Jael who slew Sisera is apparently meant, we must assume that for a period of her early life she occupied, in however precarious a manner, the position of ruler, perhaps in association with Shamgar. She may, indeed, have been an Israelitish woman who later on married Heber the Kenite. This would explain her intense zeal in the cause of the Israelites.

The rule, or attempted rule, of Shamgar and Jael was probably of brief duration. To all intents and purposes the period between Ehud and Deborah was a kind of interregnum (see Judges iv. 1–4), the efforts of the intervening judge or judges having proved ineffectual. This way of looking at the records that have come down to us seems, at any rate, to offer a reasonable reconstruction of the history of the time; see also on verse 7.

"Caravans ceased," reading אֹרְחוֹת instead of אָרְחוֹת —"prepared roads," the root-meaning of נתב, as shown by the Arabic, being that of "swelling forth, becoming prominent"; hence נָתִיב, "a raised or prepared path or road," compare מְסִלָּה from סלל. The rendering of the line here adopted is in accordance with the Peshitta and the Targum.

Verse 7. There is a strong current of opinion in favour of either emending פְּרָזוֹן into פְּרָזוֹת, "unwalled hamlets," or of regarding the two words as synonyms. But פְּרָזוֹנוֹ in verse 11 can hardly have any other meaning than that of

[1] It is strange to find Moore quoting with approval (p. 143, notes) Baethgen's remark that "it would be the solitary instance in the O.T. in which an Israelite bears openly the name of a heathen god."—"Kishon" also means the river of the god Kish.

"government" or "sovereignty." There is, besides, פְּרָזוֹ in Habakkuk iii. 14, which apparently comes from the singular פָּרָז in the sense of "prince or chief" (the root-meaning of *faraza* in Arabic being essentially the same as that from which the Arabic word representing our *cadi*, "judge," is formed). The Greek rendering *δυναστὶ* (B), adopted by a number of scholars, may, therefore, safely be accepted as substantially correct; and the further suggestion is made that פְּרָזוֹן was used in much the same way as our own "government," which means either "rule or sovereignty," or has the character of a collective noun signifying the entire governing body of a nation. In the present verse it is a collective and is, therefore, construed as a plural (see O.G.H.G. § 145, *b*), whilst in verse 11 it appears as a singular bearing the abstract meaning of "sovereignty." In Habakkuk iii. 14, again, פָּרָז has the concrete sense of "ruler," hence פְּרָזָיו = פְּרָזוֹ, "his rulers."

The bearing of this clause on what has been said under verse 6 regarding a virtual interregnum between Ehud and Deborah is obvious enough.

"A mother in Israel." As a prophet was called "father" of the nation (see 2 Kings ii. 2, xiii. 14), so was the prophetess "mother" of her people (Moore has "a matron in Israel"; see also the reference to 2 Sam. xx. 19 on p. 144 of his work).

Verse 8. Much ingenuity has been exercised in the attempt to emend the first half of the verse (see Moore and Kent *in loco*); but the confident suggestion is here made that the received text is perfectly correct, and that the translation adopted in both R.V. and A.V. (in accordance with the Targum, the Jewish commentators, and for the first clause also LXX) should be substantially retained. With the choosing of "new gods" compare Deuteronomy xxxii. 17, where the idea is further elaborated. The form

לחם as equivalent to מלחמה, "fight," need not surprise us in an ancient composition like this. The omission of the preposition *in* (ב) before "gates" is explained by E. König (*Syntax*, § 330 *m*) as having been caused by the *m* of the preceding word,[1] and the Masoretic pointing לֶחֶם, which looks "anomalous" (Moore), may be due to a rhythmical fact or theory. It remains to be added that the reading "barley bread" instead of "war in the gates" is as great a bathos as can be imagined in this place, and that the translation "a shield was not seen in five cities" (adopted by Kent from Lambert) breaks up very effectually the balance of the Hebrew lines.

One cannot but endorse the remark that "a bold attempt to throw off the enemy's offensive yoke" had been made, "but it proved unsuccessful" (G. A. Cooke *in loco*). The 40,000 Hebrew warriors who then assembled could, to start with, do nothing without proper weapons.

Verse 9. חֹקְקִים (= מְחֹקְקִים in ver. 14) primarily denotes a "statute maker" (see O.G.L. *sub* חקק). The office of law-dispenser or law-administrator would naturally go with it. They may, like the later Soferim, be regarded as the teachers and guardians of Israel's sacred law. Compare the usual rendering.

Verse 10. On riding on asses as a mark of nobility see Moore on Judges x. 4, xii. 14.—מְדִיָן, plural of מַד (see O.G.L. p. 551), "cloth, carpet," here perhaps best "divan." With those who "move along the road" as representing traders (so also Bachmann *in loco*) compare the use of the root רכל ("to go about") to form words denoting "trafficker" and "merchandise," and also the Greek *ἐμπορεύομαι*.—In translating שִׂיחוּ by "meditate deeply," the conjecture

[1] G. A. Cooke (*op. cit.* p. 36) adapts the explanation "battle of the gates" to the sense of "battle at the gates"; but the construction with ב omitted seems to have more life in it.

mentioned in O.G.L., p. 966 (last entry) has been adopted. For the exegesis see the introductory part.

Verse 11. In addition to the various meanings which have been assigned to מחצצים noted by Moore, p. 148, G. A. Smith, "huzzahing?" (onomatopœic) has now to be mentioned. The translation of the line adopted in this paper, partly covered by R.V. and most Jewish commentators, rests on the consideration that (*a*) מְחַצְּצִים as a denominative Piel from חֵץ, "arrow," fits in very well with the exegesis suggested in the introductory part, and that (*b*) the מִן of מִקּוֹל may legitimately be taken in the sense of "by the side of" (see O.G.L., p. 578, col. 2), hence "where."

מַשְׁאֲבִים no doubt sounded poetically to the Hebrew ear, but "places for drawing water" would be dreadfully prosaic; hence the paraphrase in the translation. Compare Dr. E. G. King's "From the twang of the archers at the places for water."

יְתַנּוּ, "to recount, rehearse," shows affinity with Syriac, and probably also with Arabic, which uses the 2nd and 4th forms in the sense of "to celebrate." In Judges xi. 40 it probably also denotes celebration by means of sacred recital.

The root צדק in צְדָקוֹת has here, as in Arabic, the original meaning of "being or keeping true," hence "being found faithful." G. A. Smith has "telling the faith of the Lord, etc."

אָז seems to indicate, wherever it occurs in the poem, a special stage in the action depicted. In verse 8 it points to the state of collapse prior to Deborah's efforts; in this verse it indicates the completion of her preparatory labours; in verse 13 it marks the beginning of the muster; and in verse 19 the commencement of the battle.

For a full summary on the use of gates of cities for public purposes see the article "Gate" in Hastings' D.B.

Verse 12. On the apparently intentional play on the name דְּבֹרָה in the following דַּבְּרִי, "speak or utter," see the interesting remarks by G. A. Smith in *Schweich Lectures*, pp. 82–3.

Verse 13. With "the remnant" as used here compare the later doctrine of "the remnant" (שְׁאֵרִית), and also consult the Concordance for other occurrences of שָׂרִיד. The omission of the article in this verse is justified on more than one ground (see O.G.H.L., § 126, *h—i*).

יְרַד is the Aramaic form of the Perfect Qal, and may have been employed here for reasons of rhythm. עַם no doubt opens the second half-verse (contrary to Masorah), as generally acknowledged.

Verse 14. The accuracy of the received text is supported by Judges xii. 15, where we read of "Pirathon in the land of Ephraim, in the hill of the Amalekites." One may, therefore, safely assume that a branch of the Amalekites had been settled in the mountainous country lying to the immediate north of Southern Canaan, but that later on Ephraim had succeeded in wresting this possession from them (compare Moore, G. A. Smith, Kent, and others; the LXX also had שרשם, but pronounced שֻׁרְשָׁם [ἐξερίζωσεν αὐτούς]).

In the next clause the reading אָחִיךָ, "thy brother" (A etc. in Greek) is preferred to אַחֲרֶיךָ, "after thee," because it fits in better with "among thy ranks." Benjamin's contingent came along with the probably larger number of Ephraimites.

Machir as the eldest of the sons of Manasseh represents the most important branch of the tribe (see Joshua xvii. 1; compare Num. xxvi. 29 ff.).

The translation "they that wield the scribe's reed" is adopted, notwithstanding the lack of support elsewhere for שֵׁבֶט in this sense. Here the term "scribe" with which

it is connected requires that meaning. The supposition, therefore, is that in early times it was so used. The renderings "muster-master's staff" (Moore), "drawers of batons" (G. A. Smith) and "those who carry the marshall's staff" (Kent) seem to strain too much the proper signification of the word סֹפֵר. In 2 Kings xxv. 19, Jeremiah lii. 25, the title "captain of the host" is expressly added to that of "scribe," which would by itself not necessarily show a connexion with army manœuvres. It is, however, natural to think that officers bearing the title of "scribes" had a part in the work of enrolling the troops and of keeping a record of them (see 2 Chron. xxvi. 11), though not acting as commanders in battle. See also the introductory part.

Verse 15. וְשָׂרֵי is taken to be the archaic form of the construct plural, construed, as is sometimes the case in Hebrew, with a following preposition. So, exactly, *in*, the LXX, and in substantial agreement with it Peshitta, Targum, Vulgate: "the princes of Issachar" (comp. Moore, p. 153).

For בֶּן in the next clause עִם should apparently be read, unless בֶּן itself can be assumed to have had a meaning akin to עִם in early times (Issachar *like* Barak, i.e. *with* Barak).

It should be carefully noted that the last clause differs in two respects from the last clause of verse 16. It has the preposition בְּ at the beginning instead of לְ, and חֻקְקִי instead of חִקְרֵי; hence the different meanings. See the translation and introductory part.

Verse 17. Gilead, i.e. Gad, the locality being employed to signify the inhabitants.

Verse 19. The phrase: "Not a piece of silver did they take" looks like a popular mode of speech, signifying the failure to achieve any advantage, which the poet deftly embodied in her composition.

Verse 20. The division: "From heaven fought the stars." From their paths they fought with Sisera," adopted by several writers, gives us but a flat sort of parallelism; nor can it be said that the rhythm "is needlessly destroyed by the Masoretic punctuation" (Moore), considering that verse 10 offers an exact rhythmical parallel to this line, and that the poem does not, in any case, follow a stereotyped form. In the first stichos the subject is left indefinite (see O.G.H.G., § 144, *d–k*) in the original.

Verse 21. The rendering "torrent-swollen river" is intended to convey the same idea as G. A. Smith's "torrent of spates" (*Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 395); in *Schweich Lectures*, "onrushing (?) torrent." It is based on one of the meaning which *Ḳadum* has in Arabic. G. A. Cooke (*op. cit.* p. 48) also has "onrushing torrent," basing it on the root-meaning in Hebrew (see also Moore, p. 160).

Verse 22. "Then thudded" (with G. A. Smith in *Schweich Lectures*), assuming that הלם is here used intransitively, though it is elsewhere, as also in verse 26 of the song, transitive. Moore prints הֻלְמוּ, "were battered."

The rendering "gallop-galloping" to express the probably onomatopœic *dăharōth dăharōth* is adopted from Moore (with hyphen between the words instead of comma).

"Their mighty ones," i.e. either the mighty men on the horses or the big strong horses themselves (see O.G.L., p. 7).

Verse 23. The suggestion may be made that by the messenger (usually translated "angel") of Yahweh a courier is meant who came to report to Deborah and those around her the final happenings of the day and particularly dwelt on the flight of Sisera through Meroz and his subsequent destruction by the hand of Jael. The poetic presentation of the messenger's animated report would, of course, be Deborah's own. As the entire undertaking was Yahweh's own concern, there need be no surprise in find-

ing the prophetess describing the courier as His messenger.

Verse 26. הַלְמוּת would by its form be an abstract noun rather than a concrete ("hammer"); but there is, after all, a parallel for the concrete use of the termination in חַלְמוּת, "purslain" (see G. A. Cooke *in loco*, and compare Moore, p. 165). Something might be said in favour of reading the word as a construct plural הַלְמוֹת (Vulgate: "et dextram ad fabrorum *malleos*"). She would stretch out her right hand towards the place where the hammers lay, but, of course, only take one, so that on that score Moore's objection to this reading would disappear. עָמֵל is also used in "the simple sense of labourer, or workman," in Proverbs xvi. 26; elsewhere it denotes "men wearing themselves out with toil." The verb in this line should be pronounced תְּשַׁלְחֲנָה.

Verse 27. Several scholars, including Moore and G. A. Smith, omit the second "At her feet, etc."; but repetitions of this kind are a common feature in the higher style of Semitic description. The omission of the clause in a number of Hebrew MSS. is probably due to an error caused by *homoeoteleuton* (see C. D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, p. 171 ff.).

Verse 28. "Whined" (with G. A. Smith), as the poet probably meant to employ a contemptuous term in this place. Possibly "shrieked" or "howled" would be nearer still. Moore's note on the meaning of יבב in Syriac and Talmudic requires amending in accordance with the *data* found in Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, and the Talmudic dictionaries. It *does* sometimes denote a cry of anguish.

Verse 30. The rendering given in the translation agrees substantially (with the exception of the last phrase) with that of G. A, Smith. Moore says that "some awkward repetitions mar both the rhythm and the sense." This may be a matter of taste; but it should be remembered

that the repetitions of this verse probably represent a kind of conversational medley in which the mother of Sisera and some of her ladies take part in accordance with verse 29, and that even apart from this, Semitic poetry is rich in similar examples (see also note on ver. 27).

"Despoiler," pronouncing the last word of the verse שׁוֹלֵל in agreement with the Peshitta (which, however, gives the plural "despoilers"). For further references to this reading as well as to conjectures of a different kind, see Moore, p. 171.

Verse 31. See the introductory part. The smoother cadence of the verse may be expressive of the feeling that, after the stormy period which had now been depicted, they were entering on a time of peace and rest.

G. MARGOLIOUTH.

THE MEANING AND FUNCTION OF THE "CHURCH" IN MATTHEW XVIII. 15 ff.

THIS passage includes the second and last place in which Matthew uses the word ἐκκλησία. A meaning has been found for his first use of the word in xvi. 18 f., which, if it is in this second place, will catch again the thought of the writer without the interposition of any screen that could cast a tinge of colour not his own upon his words. That meaning in chapter xvi. showed an ordered gathering of the "loosed" in contrast with a disordered gathering of the "bound"; and the conflict of the two gatherings lay in this, that the imprisoning power of Hades over all the dead could not prevail against the individual's declared belief in Christ, the God of Life and of the living. Moreover the powers to bind and to loose which were given to the gathering of the loosed were not arbitrary or administrative powers over Hades and the Heavens, but the power to

distinguish him who should make the affirmation that undid the bond about those who were gathered into the promiscuous congregation of Hades. The first century Odist, who knew these meanings,[1] has sung in another place about the congregation thus: "I made a congregation of living men amongst his dead men" (i.e. the dead massed in Hades), the *πυλαία "Αιδου*. And the singer goes on to tell how they who would be "brought out from the bonds of darkness" were redeemed: "for they are free men and they are mine." It could not be then that the loosed should be ever overcome by the binding powers of Hades. Death must unloose those who have proclaimed and are desired by the Lord of Life. It is they who make up the congregation of the freed. But what part does the *ἐκκλησια* play in the admission of men to their number? Have they any part to play? Much has been claimed for them in the Western institutional interpretation which has long been built on the Matthaean sayings. Indeed, it is fair to say that so much has been claimed by that interpretation, as to prerogative over the inclusion and exclusion of men into and from the *ἐκκλησία*, that the part of the Lord of Life in the process has been almost lost to sight. It does not appear that either a passive or an obtrusively active view of His "congregation" was in the mind of Jesus, nor did Matthew put any such feeling or import into His words. Thus it becomes of interest to know what part the freed took in binding and loosing men so that their work was ratified in the Heavens. Their work would have to be done "on the earth." If the God of Life was gathering men surely into the congregation of the living, then the work of those who were there already could not be done so that it should thwart or cross the incomparable shepherding, but their work must be somehow a doing of His

[1] See Expositor, 1919, March.

work after Him. It cannot be His work, for He is the Redeemer; but it is august enough to be a counterpart in spirit of the work which ensures men their place among the unloosed.

This truth came out to those who first gathered about Jesus Christ in this manner: "If your brother sins, go and reprove him, as between him and you alone. If he hears you, you have won your brother; if he hears you not, take with you one or two others, so that every word stands by the mouth of two or three witnesses. If he refuses them, tell the congregation; and if he refuses the congregation, let him be as an outsider or a taxgatherer. I tell you affirmatively: whatever you bind on the earth will be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on the earth will be loosed in heaven. Again I tell you that if two of you agree on earth about anything for which you pray, it will be done for you by my Father in heaven. For where there are two or three gathered in my name, there am I in their midst." This passage not only repeats the word ἐκκλησία, it also has the saying concerning binding and loosing. Some commentators have found that the sayings are used in a narrower sense in this chapter than in chapter xvi. The older writers did not see any distinction between the two uses; though their interpretations do not help towards finding the meaning which Jesus put into His words. For Origen[1] brings the figure of Peter into the sayings of Matthew xviii., and then turns off to discuss if he had the keys of one heaven or of many heavens. Or Theophylact,[2] who represents the opinion current in later times, says: οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὅσα λύουσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐισὶ λελυμένα. And if the early British religious writers are turned to, Aldhelm[3] is attempting poetry in his

[1] *Comm. in Matt.* xiii. 30 (*P. G.* XIII. 1180C sq.).

[2] *Enarratio in Evang. Matt.* xviii. 18 (*P. G.* CXXIII. 344B).

[3] *Ep. I. ad Geruntium* (*P. L.* LXXXIX. 91B); the poem he quotes is ascribed to himself, *Poema de Aris Beatæ Mariæ* ii. 2 (*P. L.* LXXXIX. 291C).

letters on what appears to be the Roman view when he says : " Petro claves cœlestis regni a Christi sunt, de quo poeta ait : Claviger æthereus, portem qui pandit in æthera " ; and Patrick records the view which has reached the general mind of his time when he writes to Coroticus : qui Deum non veretur nec sacerdotes ipsius quos elegit, et indulsit illis summam divinam sublimam potestatem : quos ligarent super terram ligatos esse et in coelis."[1] The Galilean values for the functions of binding and loosing have been lost. Jesus is showing them in action in chapter eighteen. He instances a case of wrong doing (ἁμαρτήσῃ) ; and the problem He sets the members of the congregation of the freed is not one in judicial procedure. It is rather a problem in the exercise of the grace of reclamation (ἐκέρδησας). When the individual could not win the wrong-doer, then others who had been loosed were to be called in. Again this little knot of folk is set on reclamation. Jesus did not here have to translate from Hebrew into Aramaic or popular Greek. The disciplinary methods of the Jews have not been given universal sanction by His words ; nor have they been established so that they give an indelible Hebrew cast to the congregation of the loosed, and which in turn could delay what He had instituted from universal exercise to only local significance. The " two or three " who are called in to reclaim, they are not the bearers of a questionnaire. When this grace is inapt or powerless in their hands, then the congregation of the freed is invoked. The wrong-doer's mood is hardening against the passion to bring back in those about him. It is this mood which will call for the aid of the congregation. But even there, and in this harder attitude, the meanings of Jesus will not be found if they are made to be parallel with any inquisitorial experience

[1] *Libri Sancti Patrici*, (ed. White, 1918), 27.

which history has impressed on the memories of those who have believed themselves to have been unloosed by Him. It can be said with confidence that those meanings go away if the attempt is made to see in the situation a silhouette of the too vivid scenes which took place, for example, in eleventh-century France or seventeenth-century Britain. The Cathar before a Roman inquisitorial commission is no more an inverted picture of what these sayings of Jesus mean, than is a Catholic before a Puritan inquest a correct picture of what He said. Neither the dispensations of a venerable institution through its elect exponents, who therewith are placed beyond the call of any criticism, nor the mystic gift of sanctions of rule from an abstraction called the Covenant, which therein confers seats and power on any who are the found of the Spirit, is the necessary mental condition for him who would hear Jesus speak. His scale of values is lowlier and profounder.

The congregation of the living in His sayings is set to gather in the wrong-doer. The ardour of their shepherd care is assured by their bond of union. They meet in His name. Further, the Redeemer meets with them as their uniter (ἐκεῖ εἰμὶ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν). The factors unto redemption, and the unique energy in redemption, make up the process of judgment in and by the congregation; and that process is an exercise in tireless passionate patience. Then just as these sayings are not discovered by reading back into them later institutionalism, so also they are not discovered by making them out in the terms of pre-institutionalism. A literary factor is in them which is best described as Enochic. This has been pointed out in the study on Matthew xvi. That factor is pre-institutional.

Now *Enoch* is surpassed by Jesus. For the apocryphal writing has the belief that the doing of wrong or right carries with the act the automatic binding or loosing in

Hades or Heaven.[1] This kind of Determinism belonged to the Palestinian mind of Christ's day. He, however, sets the ancient thought in an altogether new context. The wrong-doer is beset by potencies unto life, both from the freed and the Lord who frees. It is quite true that an adverse judgment can come from such an assemblage of reclaiming powers. Jesus does conceive of a stiffened condition or attitude which could make one an "outsider," or an unloosed man. Yet some of the commentators were correct when they suggested that the winning of the man meant a richer sense of freedom for the freed who had tried for him till he was won.[2] This point, like others which have gone before, has to be kept from the invasion of modern notions, and in this particular case the invasion of late Evangelicalism or of a more recent Humanism : for the first of these finds it too easy to suppose that the conditions described would prevail, if not by a process of nature, at least by the presupposition of its religious views ; and the second would work to its logical preclusion of the need of any extraordinary effort to be made because of man's native goodness. The values of these sayings of Jesus remain only if the centrality of Himself, to the process they describe, is always recognised. The parables of forgiveness, which follow after these sayings, are not light in their tone to the freed concerning the exercise of their shepherding patience and tact. That tone should be enough to turn away sentiment as a fit interpreter of Jesus Christ. It was the first century that so held the Lord of Life in the central place of the process unto freedom that it could put on His lips this song : "And I went over all the bondmen to loose them ; that I might not leave any man bound or

[1] See e.g. *Enoch xcviii., xcix.* 11 ff.

[2] E.g. Euthymius Zigabenus, *Comm. in Matt.* xxxviii. (*P. G.* CXXIX. 505A).

binding . . . and they were gathered to me and were saved, because they were to me as my own members and I was their Head."[1] Thus the first century conquered the dread that they should not be able to escape from the bonds of the dead in Hades. The incidence of this view is not of a naïve dramatic scheme of thought concerning a *Descensus ad Inferos* on an Enochic base; but rather it is the majestic concept of the work of the Lord of Life, the only Unlooser from death, in very simple terms. If then there is a Universalism in this matter that is worthy of hope or thought, it is not to be based on a humaner theology, but on a new Christology. The modern way has been to find gentler views of God, and then to deduce a Universalism; the first way was to see and handle the Christ who was God and Life. The modern way is according to the notion of Development; the first way was according to the impulses of Revelation.

Whether a Universalism results from this ancient energetic concept or not is a problem outside the thought of Matthew xviii. The thing to be realised from this Gospel's use of ἐκκλησία is the centrality of the Lord of the living in its idea and function. He is prime energy and prototype of the reclaiming powers of the congregation of the freed. The abiding social significances of this view shine out. This idea and function are for ever; and they will always be more than the most progressive concepts of Society, since they are the creative potencies of those concepts. That fact in itself is almost enough to warrant that the old meanings of these sayings of Jesus have been found.

It is of very great interest to discover that the early Coptic Church knew about the congregation of the bound

[1] *Odes of Solomon* xvii. 11 and 14. In verse 11, I have followed the reading of the Nitrian MS., where it has "the bondmen" for "My bondmen" in the Manchester MS.

and the congregation of the loosed. For them the Devil was the lord of death, and he comes to men in the form of a fisherman. He catches the "bad fish," and snares "every foul beast" and "every one that is bad." The disciples, it is said, were troubled at his powers. But Jesus replied to them: "Did I not come to take those who are Mine for My Kingdom?" To that end He said: "I suffered this great humiliation, and I came down to the world."[1] The opposite kingdoms or assemblies are here with the same inner notes as in the sayings recorded by Matthew. There is, moreover, plainer evidence than this, to the knowledge of the Copts, about the disordered gathering (*πυλαία*) of the dead. In the Coptic *Apocalypse of Paul*,[2] the Apostle is shown "a hollow place" where there are "thirty or forty generations (heaped) one above another," and he weeps for the fate of the "whole race of mankind." This writing is not due to the genius of the Copts. It will have come from lands north of Egypt.[3] And whilst there are features in it which are like *Enoch* or the *Revelatio Petri*, the feature just quoted belongs to the first century, and to Paul's mind as well as to the fears and hopes which lent shadow and light to the Palestinian folk among whom the Lord of Life came.

VACHER BURCH.

[1] *Sahidic Fragments* iv. (Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 1896, 178–179).

[2] Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 1915, Coptic 539, English 1059.

[3] Compare e.g. Latin *Visio Pauli*, 32–33.

THE WORLD-HOPE OF SCRIPTURE.

"Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that through patience and through comfort of the scriptures we might have hope. Now the God of patience and of comfort grant you to be of the same mind one with another according to Christ Jesus. Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, in the power of the Holy Ghost."—*Romans* xv. 4, 5, 13.

TWICE in this great Epistle Hope takes the leading place; it becomes the main theme of the writer's reflections and strikes the key-note of his appeals; in chapter v. 1–11, and again in chapter xv. 4–13. But in these two instances "the hope of the gospel" appears in very different and even contrasted aspects. In the former case it is the *individual hope* with which we are concerned: our present standing in the grace of God won for us by Christ, our consciousness of the Father's love "poured out in our hearts through the Holy Ghost" awakens expectations of a complete and satisfying disclosure of the Divine character; "we exult in hope of the glory of God (ver. 2). This confidence began with the "justification of faith; it is grounded in the love of Christ disclosed upon the cross of Calvary; and is sustained by the visitations and testimonies of His Spirit. It flourishes upon the experience of trial and temptation; "affliction" and the discipline of sorrow contribute to its enrichment (vers. 3–5). "Patience" is the surest index of its growth. This world of glorious and joyous certainties, this "heaven begun below" of the Christian estate, in which we are "heirs of God and co-heirs with Christ," constitutes

the inward kingdom of the new life. Its realities are strictly personal; its transactions are inward; its treasures are "of the Spirit." It moves wholly within the relations of God and the soul.

Now this is the central, the proper sphere of religion, defined as "the life of God within the soul of man." In the vision of the Highest, in the Breath of God with which Christ animates His new-born brethren, we find the sum of the life eternal; to many Christians, the hope centring here, which lies in the foretaste and anticipation of fellowship with God through sharing the Spirit of Jesus Christ, is the sum of the believer's expectations. What can he desire, what conceive or forecast in the immortal future designed for him by his Redeemer, beyond the nearer view, the more penetrating and comprehending realisation of the character and the ways of God? "Whom have I in heaven but Thee? There is none upon earth that I desire beside Thee!" So the devout soul, the man living in Christ Jesus, exclaims evermore to his Maker and Father. There is no craving, no possibility of good for him lying outside of the horizon thus contained.

Yet in the latter part of the Letter there arises another "hope," germane to the former, a hope equally cherished by the writer and which he counts, as matter of course, upon the Roman readers sharing with him. St. Paul does not need to explain this wider and more mundane expectation, or to give reasons for it.. It speaks for itself, lying in the nature of Christianity as in human nature; it is rooted in Christ and His death of Atonement, even as is the hope and longing for personal immortality. Like the former craving, it is planted in the breast by "the God of hope," and is the "fruit" of the one and self-same Spirit of the living God.

We are speaking now of *the collective hope*, the hope for society and for the world, which emerges in chapters xiv.

and xv., to balance and complete the joy of the individual believer, that shines with so brilliant and so sure a light in the earlier pages of this Epistle.

Here the Apostle Paul writes out of his inmost mind, and discloses the full depth and scope of his purpose in the Letter. He is taking the Romans into his very heart; he makes them one with his own mission. They are a world-people, as he is a world-apostle. Paul is not simply the bearer of a message from God to indivdual men, found here or there, who plants His love within their breast and awakens in them hopes of the most glorious nature respecting their future destiny; at the same time he proclaims a kingdom, a method and rule of life, calculated to regenerate the society of nations and renew the face of the earth. This latter prospect he has seen shining through the anticipations of inspired prophecy. The life of Israel has been making for this goal through many centuries and against numberless contradictions. God's dealings with the elder nations and His "ways upon earth" as traced in the records of Scripture, speak for His interest in the every-day life of men. He is concerned about the way in which people treat each other in their common transactions, about the doing of justice and the showing of mercy and the keeping of faith between land and land, and the building up of righteousness and a sound order in the commonwealth of mankind. In other words, God's salvation, in its full and final scope, includes the establishment of a true world-polity for His redeemed children, along with their personal deliverance from all world-evil.

The Messianic hopes, shining now dim now clear in the Old Testament to this effect, constitute the essence and main impulse of its revelations. In the fact of making known His being, who is the One True, Living God, the Father of Israel, and "governor of the nations upon earth," Jehovah

proclaims a hope for the peoples of mankind which is inseparable from the knowledge of Himself, and is rooted in His essential attributes—a gospel for the world. The world *qua* world, is to be saved ; it is not doomed to be a failure and a ruin. St. Paul's mission is the embodiment of this " good news." " To me, less than the least of all saints, was given this grace, to publish the good tidings of Christ's unsearchable riches, and to light up the administration of the mystery that hath been hidden from the ages, in God who created all things " (Eph. iii. 8, 9).

That the missionary hope of God's Church, matching and completing the personal hope of the individual believer, fills the Apostle's thoughts and prompts his prayers, and his appeals in the closing chapters of the Roman Epistle becomes evident as we examine their tenor point by point. Questions of personal salvation have been dropped, from the beginning of the ninth chapter onwards ; our thought has ranged over the religious destiny of nations, over the vast field of God's dealings with Israel and the Gentiles. We have been lost in the " depth of the riches of His wisdom and knowledge," in His unsearchable judgment and ways," in the course of history " that are past tracing out " (xi. 33–36).

Amid these meditations, the Apostle, who is sensible of the critical importance attaching to the position and influence of the Church of God which is in Rome (see Rom. i. 8, xv. 24, Phil. i. 25–30, ii. 12–18), becomes jealous for its peace and unity, standing as it does at the centre of the world's affairs. East and west are knit together by the lines of travel that run through Rome. For the future of the cause of Christ and for the world's salvation much depends upon the character and temper of the Christian community growing up in the world's capital city. St. Paul beseeches God to make his readers " of the same mind one toward another accord-

ing to Christ Jesus" (xv. 5; comp. Phil. ii. 1–5); he longs that they "may with one accord, with one mouth, glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (xv. 6); he bids them "receive one another as the Christ also received you to the glory of God" (vers. 6, 7). For St. Paul knows full well how much contentions within the Church hinder the work of God outside of it, how grievously they delay the world's salvation and tend to defeat the missionary hope, Rome is indeed a "city set upon a hill": the example of her Church must work for good or evil to the ends of the earth.

The Old Testament sayings which he gathers into this context as bearing upon his mission and the universal destination of the Gospel (xiv. 11, xv. 3, 7–12, 21), are rightly placed here (and not, as Dr. Rendel Harris appears to suggest some months ago in the EXPOSITOR, transposed from some earlier point in the Epistle), because they lend weight to the writer's closing appeal for union between himself and the Church at Rome, on whose hearty sympathy and practical support he greatly depends for the furtherance of his contemplated journey to Spain, by which he designs to link East with West and to give to the name and kingdom of Christ a circulation covering the breadth of the Empire (comp. "from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum xv. 19).

The world-apostle had surely a foreboding of the troubles which press upon us acutely to-day, in the divisions and animosities of Christendom. If there was any writing of his in which that presentiment was likely to appear and to make its stress felt, it was surely this Letter to the Church in the great world-city, on which his thought and hopes were now bent. The one thing that moved him to impatience, that tempted him now and then to discouragement in his calling of God in Christ Jesus, lay in the quarrels which arose amongst Christian men and the ignoble causes of those

quarrels. Here were members of the Church of God's elect in Rome, with their glorious privileges and profound experiences, contending about matters of diet and the keeping of sacred days, forming parties and drawing aloof from one another about questions of this sort (chap. xiv.). It was enough to make one despair of Christian brotherhood and the world-wide gospel. And behind these petty strifes lay the great rift between Jew and Gentile, with the antipathies, misunderstandings, and grudges it engendered, incessantly breaking out in this direction or in that and keeping the Church in perpetual turmoil. It seemed hopeless to expect this chasm ever to be closed.

Can we imagine what the Apostle Paul, from this point of view, would have thought and said of the divisions of modern Christendom? How he would have judged concerning the inveterate feud between Anglicanism and Dissent? or (to look at matters more widely) how he would have been struck by the attitude and position of the mighty Church of Rome at this day towards her sisters in the faith? what would have been his sentence upon the fulminations still exchanged, as opportunity affords, between East and West? and on the scandal to the common cause of Christianity and to "the honourable name by the which we are called," that this state of things brings about? "I did not come to send peace on the earth, but a sword": so said Jesus in His intimate and far-reaching words to His Apostles, commissioning them for their earliest adventures on His behalf. His gospel was a thing so stern and trenchant; its demands cut so sharply across the current maxims and habits of Jewish society, that it brought with it strifes and resentments disturbing the most delicate and intimate relations of life. Because our Lord's teaching was so inward, and concerned matters so much deeper than the tithing of mint and cummin and the ritual prescriptions which bulked largely in the

popular religion, because it bore upon the foundations of "justice, mercy and faith," and the soul's vital dealings with God, for this reason it made "the man's foes" to be oftentimes "they of his own household." Despite the spirit of love and goodwill that Jesus everywhere breathed, and the "peace" He "preached" between God and man, "reconciling the nations in one body to God through the cross" (Eph. ii. 16), His influence made immediately, infallibly for social antagonism; it set up in the ancient world opposing currents charged with influences of thunderous force, which have continued in action ever since. The faith of the Son of Man touches just the things about which men, when they come to know themselves and to be concerned for their fellows, most care, the things about which they are most profoundly and effectively stirred. Passions of love and hate are both aroused by the questions Jesus raises, as they are by nothing else; and however much His message in the end makes for peace, wars and fightings numberless lie upon the way to the end. The name of Jesus Christ was a signal of strife, a focus of dissent and discontent throughout the old world, Jewish and Pagan. He demanded radical reform, in the man, in society, in the whole ongoing of the world; and no half-measures would satisfy Him. "The world-rulers of this darkness" could expect no peace from the moment of His advent; and Herod in his fiendish massacre of the Bethlehem babes was moved by a prophetic foresight.

The wars of the Christian era are in truth an appalling record; in desponding moments they weigh upon us heavily. A fertile cause of unbelief, they forbid any cheap optimism as to the rapid and beneficent advance of our religion. Fresh "roots of bitterness" are planted by its progress, which "spring up to trouble us." New forms of evil are engendered, and deeper potencies of sin aroused by the contact

of Christianity with the primitive passions and prejudices of mankind. The Spirit of Christ has an antagonism to subdue within the Church, an antipathy within the minds of otherwise good men, almost as obstinate and shocking as that which prevails outside. Ecclesiastical rivalries and jealousies have become a proverb for bitterness. "Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum": Church History has given a new force of meaning to the terrible maxim of the old sceptic Roman poet. Never did God's people need more than at this moment "the patience and the comfort" which the Scriptures minister; never was St. Paul's prayer more timely that "the God of hope may fill us with all joy and peace in believing, that we may abound in hope through the Holy Ghost."

It is a fact to ponder, as illustrating at once the insight of Scripture and the perversity of man, that the Church of Rome, to which these words were addressed, has made the task of the unification of Christendom, with a view to the salvation of mankind, peculiarly her own, and yet she has wrought for this end by such means, with such arrogant pretensions to lordship, and using such weapons of force and fraud, as to break the Church utterly in pieces and to postpone indefinitely the world-union of believers in Christ. It is the greatest irony of Church History. This chapter of the Epistle to the Romans stands as the severest reproof of all that Rome and the Papacy have been for these thousand years past to the Church of the Redeemer.

As though the Roman quarrel were not enough and the Wars of the Reformation, the Great War has now come, once more to rend Christendom through and through, and to make deadly foes of the two leading Protestant peoples, who had built their faith upon Scripture and had sent out their Missions in its name to the heathen lands. The event is calculated to deepen our despondency and to breed new

delays in the fulfilment of the world-mission and world-hope of the gospel. It is not merely that German Missions have been brought to an end in India and elsewhere, because they were used as political engines and became seedplots of revolt and military intrigue; but the War itself has nourished in many minds, Christian in other respects, an un-Christian and un-Scriptural disposition, a harsh and cynical temper alien to the Spirit of Christ, a fatal mistrust and coldness toward the larger enterprises of faith, an apathy which multiplies all difficulties for the kingdom of God. For ages Holy Scripture has upheld the hope of realising the family unity of mankind, based against all gainsaying on the Fatherhood of the One God, and the universal Atonement of His Son Jesus Christ our Lord. It has furnished the counteractive of false unities contrary to righteousness and truth, such as those attempted by the Roman Papacy. From its pages the leaders of mankind in the paths of peace and brotherhood have drawn their inspiration. With patience and comfort it has fed through weary ages those who have fed upon it. The Bible has been in fact the backbone of the true life and growth of mankind. It has supplied the impetus of the world's progressive forces, and the most effectual means of combatting the evils that have ever and again thrust humanity backward and striven to drag it downward toward the brute. In it has been discovered the first fountain and the perpetual reinforcement of the best hopes of our race.

The contemplation of his approaching journey to Rome and of the issues thereon depending, of the help and furtherance his brethren in that city may give to his endeavours to compass the Gentile world with the message of Christ and to yoke Spain with Syria in the service of the Gospel, brings to a climax thoughts St. Paul has long cherished about the universal scope of his commission. To these he gives

expression in verses 7–21 of the concluding chapter of this greatest of his Letters—fuller expression than they have elsewhere received in his writings. The thoughts in question had been already drawn from the ancient Scriptures, as Dr. Rendel Harris thinks, by some earlier Christian teacher, and by this time had become common property amongst believers in Jesus Christ, a kind of Christian *commonplace book* or *vade-mecum* of prophetical interpretation. These "Testimonies,"[1] lying behind the earliest Christian literature and running already in a sort of stereotyped form, the Apostle Paul, it would seem, endorses by adopting more or less continuously their language for His own:

"I declare," he says, "that Christ hath become servant of the Circumcision on behalf of the truth of God in order to establish the promises made to the Fathers;
And that the Gentiles might glorify God for His mercy,
According as it is written: "I will make confession to Thee amongst the Nations;
And to Thy name I will sing praise."
And again He said: 'Rejoice, O Nations, with His people!'
And again: 'Extol the Lord, all the Nations,
And let all the peoples praise Him.'
And again, Isaiah said: 'There shall be forthcoming the Root of Jesse,
Even He that riseth up to rule the Nations;
Upon Him shall the Nations set their hope.'"

Whether St. Paul owes this remarkable catena of quotations to another hand, or it is entirely original upon his own part, it expresses powerfully his animating purpose and the world-hope which inspires his mission, with which he is deeply concerned to inspire the Roman Church. Scripture has taught him that the ministry of Jesus Christ had designs wide as the compass of the earth and the needs of the human race. Our Lord's appearance amongst the Jews, the services he rendered and the testimony delivered to His Israelite

[1] See *Testimonies*, Part I. By Rendel Harris, with the assistance of Vacher Burch. Cambridge University Press.

brethren, always looked beyond them ; they were directed through them to serve and bless the entire human race. The earlier Testimonies, culled from 2nd Samuel, Deuteronomy and the Book of Psalms (vers. 9–11), speak of the unanimous confession of the One God, and the delight of the Nations in Him, as destined to take their rise from the Messiah's ministry to Israel ; " along with His people " the excluded Gentiles are to raise the world-wide song of Hallelujah. The prince of the Prophets crowns these joyous assurances by declaring that Jesse's Son was raised up on purpose to be sovereign of the non-Israelite nations, and that the whole world's hope will hang upon Him.

It was impossible to read any longer such sayings in a nationalistic sense, as though they pointed to a Davidic military sway over conquered peoples. A miserable hope would this indeed have been, if exegetically justifiable. The trend of history and world-movement by this time utterly belied such anticipations. The Maccabæan sovereignty had given them a brief semblance of local plausibility, ending with the brutal oppression of Herod the Great ; but no informed or wide-thinking man could subscribe now to the Messianism which would have made of Jesus of Nazareth a Jewish Cæsar and bidden Him wade through blood to the Imperial throne. This was the temptation that assailed Him for a moment in the Desert, which had its spring in the warrior blood flowing through His veins and its sustenance in the stories of the Wars of Israel on which His childhood had been reared. Such dreams had their tragical issue in the national revolt against Rome, in the overthrow of Jerusalem, the scattering of the Jewish people, and its age-long feud with the world, which Jesus foretold.

" Art Thou a king then ? " said Pilate to his prisoner. —" My kingdom is not of this world ; my servants will not fight to win it," was the reply. As much as to say : " I

reign in the realm of conscience; My empire is the empire of faith, not of force." The world has not yet learnt, though it is learning, that sovereignty lies here, that spiritual powers and principles are in reality always dominant for good or evil, and are at the back of every form of material ascendancy. When Jesus cried, "Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice," and asserted that true men of every nation would rally round Him and gather to His standard, discarding all weapons of compulsion and worldly craft, He promised Himself a victory that might be indefinitely long delayed, but a victory even upon the sphere of "this world" and its kingdoms the most glorious and complete —a kingdom large and grand as the mind of man and as the purposes of God. Such was "the good confession," the brave hope, that "Jesus Christ witnessed before Pontius Pilate," the Roman magistrate. Virtually the same was His testimony a few days earlier to the enquiring, curious Greeks: "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men to myself." There again speaks the consciousness of the world-Saviour addressing Himself to the mind of a world-people and declaring a world-purpose. This is *prophecy in excelsis*, prophecy in the very act and at the height of fulfilment. The Son of God had read His Father's word aright, learning from it the breadth as well as the height of His calling. He was "sent" indeed to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," but not to gather these alone. Jesus Christ well knew that in being "the minister of the Circumcision," He was vastly more; that He did not come into the world simply to verify certain promises of God made to a Semitic tribe. Through "Abraham's seed" God was dealing in Christ with all the families of mankind (see Heb. ii. 16–18).

It is in virtue of the human aspect and world-bearing of "the promises," which the Apostle has come to see shining

out everywhere in the Old Scriptures, that he calls the God revealed there "the God of hope" (xv. 13); and by consequence, "the God of patience (endurance)" and "comfort (encouragement)." These are titles less familiar and less frequently upon our lips than "the God of peace," whom St. Paul has also commended. But the "God of hope" is a name appropriate and worthy, inciting and commanding in the highest degree, and a title it behoves us especially at the present juncture to lay to heart. To preach at this hour "the God of peace" and "the God of hope" to our fellows demands a courage and insight, a mind steeped in Scripture and charged with its patience and comfort in no ordinary measure or conventional sense. It might seem appropriate for men of our time to make the utmost of the personal hopes inspired in chapter v. of this Epistle, abandoning the shattered foundations of secular life, the great world-institutions of civilisation and national achievement, and to concentrate on that which can be saved for the New Jerusalem and housed for "the building of God" which is eternal, in the heavens." Dark hours there have been in the history of the Church, when this presented itself as the only right and sensible course for the men of faith, when to "get away from the body" and to "get home to the Lord" appeared as not only a happy change of condition, but as the only tolerable prospect for the future of the servant and lover of the Lord.

There have passed over men's heads times of public calamity, as well as of private suffering, when the soul's cry to its Lord had been:

> "For sin and sorrow overflow
> All mortal things so high,
> That I can find no rest below,
> But unto Thee I fly."

Such a time may, conceivably come again, when normally

hopeful Christians, despairing of the Christian future of the world and the redemption of the existing economy, would in fact "choose strangling rather than life." The misery to which individual men and women, of sincere and well-balanced Christian belief, have been occasionally reduced in these last days of calamity, has manifested this element of world-despair, seeking refuge with the Eternal Mercy in escape from the justly-doomed and self-destroying secular order of things. Those for whom "the life that now is" holds no kind of "promise" are found casting themselves in sheer desperation on the faithful "promise of the life that is to come."

But, after all, we are children of this world; and hope for our world is born in us; it is all but indestructible. For it has "the God of hope" behind it. "We acording to His promise look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." Many disappointments will not stop this latter looking.

Through the most desperate days "the God of hope" fills His children with all joy and peace in believing; and His world continues, and slowly betters itself out of evil conditions. Its Scriptures minister endurance and encouragement, strength to sustain the task and toil of mortal life through the train of storms and conflagrations, through the world-encounters, which grow more terrific and more threatening to the existence of mankind after each interval of peace, each renewal of hope for the human commonwealth Divine.

May we venture again to "draw water" from these old "wells of salvation," to count upon the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ as "the God of hope" for the world He has created, and to assure ourselves that, despite the deadly feuds of the races bearing Christ's name, "to Him shall the gathering of the peoples be."

We dare in fact to aver that more than ever before Jesus Christ is now our hope. The footfalls of the Coming Ones sound more audibly, as if nearer at hand, in the pathway of the world's common salvation. Our "endurance" and "hope" sustained by the Scriptures revive like a flame rekindled on a wintry night, now that this bitter and cruel war has stormed across the world. We gather new elements of endurance in confronting the old and familiar evils of life —sickness and want and pain and envy and greed, and the jealous competitions for material good; we draw new grounds for encouragement, for hope of the diminution of outward and sensible, along with the extinction of spiritual, evil and wrong from "the word of God which liveth and abideth for ever." The "sure word of prophecy," which upheld the soul of Jesus through the sorrows of Atonement, are sufficient for our needs, who follow often so feebly in His footsteps, to whom it remains to "fill up," as best we may, "the afterings of His afflictions in our flesh for His body's sake, which is the Church.

Like our fathers, we turn to Scripture for our refreshment in the evil days, for fresh resources of "endurance, encouragement." Both these words mean stronger things than the *patience* and *comfort* of every-day Bible speech. They are the passive and the active sides respectively of the hope-inspiring ministry of Scripture. I need not call up the Bible patterns of endurance—from Job in the land of Uz to John in the Isle that is called Patmos, our successive "companions in the tribulation and kingdom and patience which are in Jesus." Resort to these examples, seek their companionship and learn their secrets, when the evils of the world and the plagues of life have fretted you past bearing. But most of all, "consider Him who endured the contradiction of sinners," who was "led as a lamb to the slaughter," who "though He were a Son, yet learned His

obedience through the things He suffered, and being perfected, became the author of eternal salvation to them that obey Him." Life is a schooling in endurance ; and, as St. James puts it, when this has " had its perfect work " upon Christ's saints, " they are perfect, and entire," " lacking in nothing."

It must be remembered about endurance, that there can be no such thing without trouble and strain. " Tribulation worketh patience, and patience probation (the *proving* of a man on trial), and probation hope—the warranted and experienced hope a man has earned through fiery trial, through fierce and long conflict borne without shrinking, his right to be counted *proof* against every weapon that in future may assail him. The untried life—with no steep hills to climb, no hard blows to bear, no death to face—is a feeble, pithless thing, a *vita non vivenda* for the man of spirit ; the life of the oak which never felt the gale, of the captain who has weathered no storm, in whose chart no shoals and rocks, no perilous tides or treacherous calms have need to be noted. Who would trust with such a pilot a freight of precious lives in a perilous hour ?

Be content, then, that life should have its risks, and possibilities of evil. " Let endurance have its perfect work." It will be the making of you for eternity ; as the irksome drill, and the fatigue duty, the heavy pack, and the measured and stinted rations, turn the soft, shambling, self-indulgent youth into the stout, hardy soldier, a capable, self-controlled man for all his time to come. " Endure hardness, as a good soldier of Christ Jesus." There is a crying out against the necessary pains of life, its natural severities, which is mere cowardice and softness, not for a moment to be tolerated in the Christian camp.

But we need at times, and we get from the Scriptures, something more than patience in holding fast to the better hopes of life. The soldier is patient when he will not quit

the trench, though shells are bursting round him and the enemies' bayonets gleam in front of him. The mariner is patient when he meets the buffeting of the tempest and does not put back, though for the time he makes no headway. Job was patient as he sat amongst the ashes stripped and desolate, with his wife taunting him and his friends heaping upon him evil surmisings, and he still refused to renounce his integrity or to charge God foolishly. There was far more, than such passive endurance in the fortitude of Jesus Christ when "He set His face steadfastly to go up to Jerusalem," advancing in defiance of every threat and fear; or when on Passion Eve He cried to His companions, "Be of good cheer: I have overcome the world!" and "for the joy that was set before Him, He endured the cross, despising the shame." Behind and within His courage there was the "comfort of the Scriptures," the uplift and impulse of the promise of the Covenant-keeping God.

It is the active heroism of the Christian life that is called for at this time, when the world has made an extraordinary draught upon the faith of the Church of the living God—the forward-looking, onward-marching courage of the Captain of Salvation. With this Divine "encouragement," caught by Paul from Jesus, the Lord had inspired the Church at His resurrection; it constitutes the ever-renewed "supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ," which breathes throughout this ardent Letter. In various modes and degrees, and in all manner of circumstances and every type of disposition, this manly, marching faith distinguishes the great characters of Scripture and exhales from its pages. In its true exponents the Christian life, the life according to Scripture, is a life of forward movement, of brave, buoyant adventure for God and truceless war with sin. To this warrior-life Christ and Scripture ceaselessly urge us on,—to a life "overflowing with hope, in the power of the Holy Ghost."

The sad War now ended has many lessons to teach the Church of Christ, some of which it will take a long time to learn. One lesson surely we might learn at once, for it is congenial in a high degree. Have we not observed with admiring wonder the gaiety of soul which attends sacrifice for a noble cause, the rapture with which our young heroes, not a few of them, have gone to meet pain and death on the battlefield? What a burst of poetry of this nature the War has already yielded! Fear, self-concern, the meaner passions, are trampled, underfoot when the man is possessed with the love and faith the name of "England" means for her children. But England and all her Empire are but a little thing compared to the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ! "The call of King and Country," how it challenges in the hour of danger every drop of English blood that runs in English veins! The call of Christ incomparably transcends, in the height and largeness of its claims, in the tenderness and inwardness of its appeals, the most imperious summons which earth can ever sound in our ears. "He that loveth father or mother more than Me, is not worthy of Me!" our Heavenly Master once said; and we admit His demand to be reasonable and just. Should we not rise, as on a stepping-stone, from the revived patriotism of our British loyalty to the nobler and purer patriotism, the loftier and worthier hope of the Kingdom of God for all mankind?

The twofold hope of Romans v. and xv., the individual and collective hope of the Epistle, are inseparably one: the first is hope for the man *as man*, in the wholeness and fullness of his being as body, soul and spirit. The second is hope for man in the aggregate, man the political animal, as the philosopher described him, for man *in community*, in the joint and corporate, co-operate existence wherein he reveals and unfolds himself, in virtue of which he looks to God as his Father, as truly an he looks from the solitary

depths of his personal being. God is the Father and Saviour of nations and communities, even as He is the Maker and Redeemer of men through Jesus Christ.

> To Him shall the gathering of the peoples be.
> On Him shall the Nations hope.

G. G. FINDLAY.

AUGUSTINE ON THE LORD'S PRAYER.

AUGUSTINE highly valued and commended Cyprian's treatise on the Lord's Prayer for several reasons, but especially for its implicit refutation of the Pelagian heresy. He refers to this dogmatic importance of the tract with real gratitude. It convicted the Pelagians, he declares, before they were born (*de dono persev.* 4), by denouncing two of their three wrong tenets, viz., that God's grace is given in proportion to human merit, and that it is possible to live without sin in the present life. He quotes freely from it (e.g., *contra duas epp. Pelag.* ix. 25 f.), in this connexion. But his interest in the Prayer was naturally wider. Augustine had a profound religious experience, and he wrote out of it. The rich output of his pen shows that the Lord's Prayer was constantly in his mind, not only when he was refuting heretics but when he was expounding the Bible or enforcing Christian truth or writing letters of counsel. The result is that we have a wealth of material for studying his opinions upon the Prayer. He never wrote a special treatise upon it, but he discussed it in the *Enchiridion*,[1] and explained it in his commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, besides alluding elsewhere to particular phrases in it.

[1] The *Enchiridion*, as its sub-title indicates (*de fide, spe, et charitate*), is really a brief exposition of Christian doctrine. Faith occupies nearly the whole of the handbook (1–113); hope is assigned only three paragraphs (114–116), and love receives the last six (117–122). The Lord's Prayer occupies the space allotted to hope, as it teaches us to hope and pray for either the power to do good or the rewards for having done good deeds.

The first thing to notice is that Augustine was the first to divide the prayer into seven petitions. This led him (x. 36, 37, *Enchiridion* 115–116) to offer two preliminary suggestions about the general interpretation. (*a*) The first three petitions relate to eternal blessings, whereas the latter four refer to needs which belong to the present world alone. This involves the idea that the three boons implied in *Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come,* and *thy will be done,* are " blessings begun here, growing in us as we advance, but only perfected in another life, where we shall possess them for ever." It also raises (*b*) the question for Augustine, with his original, shorter Latin text of Luke, how the discrepancies of Matthew and Luke are to be explained. His theory is ingenious. There is no discrepancy at all; Luke's version is briefer, but true to the meaning of Matthew; Luke omitted *Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven,* because he meant us to understand that it is a sort of repetition of the two preceding petitions. " God's name is hallowed in the spirit " (i.e., according to Augustine, *in heaven*), " and God's kingdom will come in the resurrection of the flesh " (i.e., *on earth*). Again, Luke omits *but deliver us from evil,* " to show us that it is included in the previous petition." That this is the meaning of the clause is plain from Matthew himself, who " says *But deliver,* not *deliver,* proving they are one petition (' do not do this, but that ') ; every one is to understand that he is delivered from evil by not being led into temptation."

We might suppose that this division ought to imply logically the literal sense of *daily bread ;* but Augustine evades this inference by declaring that God's truth is called bread in the present life, as it requires processes of digestion, whereas in the future life it will rather be drink—all will be taught by God, without need of outward expressions. This fanciful comparison between drink and direct intuition is

based on the idea that God (i.e., truth conveyed through Scripture in our present life) demands mastication, whereas drink passes directly into the body (x. 37).

Another equally fanciful touch closes the exposition (ix. 38), the parallel between the seven petitions and the seven beatitudes. The pure in spirit are blessed by means of the fear of God, i.e., by the hallowing of His name. The meek inherit the earth, when His kingdom comes. The mourning are comforted through knowledge of His will, and when body and soul are in a complete harmony of obedience and submission, then there is no more mourning over the strife with the law in our members (Rom. vii. 23). Those who hunger and thirst after righteousness get their daily bread of spiritual sustenance. The merciful obtain mercy, as they forgive their debtors. The pure in heart are blessed by being freed from temptation, i.e., from a divided heart. The peacemakers are delivered from evil, and thus enabled to cry " Abba, Father " (Gal. iv. 6 ; Rom. viii. 15). All this is ingenious enough, but it forces the interpretation at various points, and it does not represent Augustine at his best.

Before passing on to analyse his serious and detailed exposition of the prayer, we may note one other instance of the toll he paid to his age. It is clear that the very repetition of the Lord's Prayer was beginning to be viewed in some circles as an atoning act. Augustine allows himself to speak of the daily repetition as *cotidiana nostra mundatio*, as well as of rich alms and charitable contributions availing for pardon (*de nuptiis et concupiscentia* i. 33). His very devotion to the Prayer had made him incline to regard and to use it semi-superstitiously, as if it were a formula, the mere repetition of which had some occult, atoning efficacy. This paves the way for the later Catholic penance of so many Paternosters as a means of contrition, and for its use as a

form of ascetic discipline. Already it was taking a formal place in the liturgy and worship of the Church, repeated daily, and especially, e.g. after the consecration of the elements in the Eucharist, by the priests. But while the congregation listened to it in church, it was probably used privately as a daily supplication.

The strength of Augustine's mind, however, is not to be gauged by these side issues and applications. What he found and wished others to find in the Prayer was a full and spiritual expression of Christian faith, bearing upon life and duty. The best statement of this may be found in his exposition of the Sermon on the Mount (II. iv.–xi.), *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, an exegetical work composed about 393 A.D., and round this it is possible to group the allusions scattered throughout the rest of his writings. The exposition is one of his earliest works ; the *Enchiridion* was not written till about twenty-seven years later. But neither in this latter nor in any of the other subsequent treatises does Augustine depart far from the outline laid down in the commentary on Matthew v.–vii.

In *Our Father who art in heaven*, he notes (*a*) an incentive to *charitas* or affection ; (*b*) a certain confidence that God as the loving Father will give what we ask ; and (*c*) a responsibility for living worthily of our sonship to such a Father. Finally, " rich people and aristocrats are warned, when they have become Christians, not to deal proudly with the poor and lowly born, since it is with such people that they address God as *our Father*—an expression which cannot be used sincerely or piously unless they recognise that they too are brethren."

In heaven means not in the upper skies but " in the saints." As a sinful man may be called *earth* (he quotes Gen. iii. 19 : " Earth thou art, and to earth shalt thou return "), so a good man may be called *heaven*, as Paul

describes the saints (" you are God's temple," 1 Cor. iii. 17). Augustine insists earnestly on this interpretation. We worship not a God in space but an indwelling God, in the hearts of the righteous. *In coelis* therefore means *in sanctis*.

The custom of turning to the east in prayer is not an admission that God resides there more than in any other part of the world; it is " to stir up the mind towards a higher being, i.e., God, by the directing of the body towards a higher body " (i.e., the sun). Augustine apparently regards this habit as useful for those who cannot yet rise to the highest level of spiritual religion; if they begin by recognising in this outward way that God is not on earth but in heaven, they will eventually be able to appreciate the truth that He is to be found in the hearts of the righteous, not among worldly sinners.

It is in connexion with this invocation that he once (*sermo ad Caesariensis ecclesiae plebem* 5) introduces the idea of the mother-church. You repeat the Lord's prayer as we do, he says. You say, " Our Father which art in heaven." Now " our Father willed to have one wife. Why then do we who revere the one Father not recognise the one Mother ? "

On *hallowed be thy name* (v. 19), he has very little to say. It is a prayer " that God's name may be so known by men that they shall consider nothing more holy than it, nothing which they are more afraid of offending." The meaning of the prayer is (*De spiritu et littera* xxvi.) " that what is always and essentially holy may be reckoned holy also by men, that is, may be feared with hallowed awe " (*sancte timeatur*)—a reverence due from Christians. He thoroughly agrees with Cyprian (*de correptione et gratia* 10) that this sanctification is already conferred at baptism; what Christians pray for is that it may continue in their lives. They thus acknowledge that such perseverance is God's own gift (so *de dono persev.* 4, 55).

In *thy kingdom come* (vi. 20), the word *veniat* means *manifestetur*. For God is always reigning on earth; but His kingdom may be said not to have *come* to people who shut their eyes wilfully to it. At the end of the world, it will *come* so that no one can possibly ignore it. In another sense, it will come to the saints, who by this petition pray to be kept loyal to their hopes for it, and thus acknowledge again that their perseverance is from God Himself (*de dono persev.* 5).

When we pray that the Father's *will* may be done *in earth as it is in heaven* (vi. 21), the reference may be to the angels who perfectly serve Him. "So may it be done in Thy saints who are on earth"; no doubt, they are already in *heaven*, as he has explained, but they are still to be taken from earth. This is the first (*a*) interpretation offered. To do God's will is to obey His commands. *Fiat voluntas tua* means *obediatur praeceptis tuis*. He quotes the angelic song in Luke ii. 14, "Glory to God in the heights, and on earth peace to men of goodwill"; it is our goodwill which enables us to do God's will on earth, just as the angels glorify God by doing it in heaven. And one day we shall be like the angels, at the resurrection (Matt. xxii. 30). Augustine admits (*de dono persev.* 6) that most people understood the petition thus, as meaning that Christians might do God's will like the holy angels—i.e., preferring the reading, *sicut*. But he bows as usual to Cyprian's authority.

(*b*) *In earth as it is in heaven* may mean "in sinners as well as among the holy and the just." This may be taken in two ways (vi. 22), he adds; it is either a prayer for the enemies of the faith, that they may be won over, or a petition for the last judgment, when every one will get his reward as determined by God's will.

(*c*) *Heaven and earth* may also mean the spirit and the flesh (vi. 23): as God's will is done by the mind or spirit

freely (he quotes Rom. vii. 25, " with the mind I myself serve the law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin "), so may the body not thwart and weaken the spirit. This interpretation is not to be pooh-poohed—*non absurdus ille intellectus*, or, as he says in the *Enchiridion* (115)," Some have understood this, not unreasonably—*non absurde*—as ' in spirit and body.' "

(*d*) A fourth view is mentioned (vi. 24), briefly, " that we are to take the words *Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven* to mean, as in our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, so also in the Church." This curious interpretation is worked out along the line of the Bride and Bridegroom metaphor. " It is just as if we were to say, as in the Man who fulfilled the Father's will, so in the Woman who is betrothed to Him "—the explanation of the metaphor being that *heaven* and *earth* are equivalent to man and wife, " since the earth becomes fruitful as it is fertilised by the heaven."

As for the petition about daily bread (vii. 25–27), Augustine is not sure which of the three current interpretations deserves to be adopted. (*a*) The literal sense, which takes *bread* as equivalent to the necessaries of this life, seems to him inconsistent with the context of the Sermon on the Mount. Jesus said that *all these things* would be *added* if we sought the kingdom first—which implies that we do not seek them at all. That is, he identifies prayer for such necessaries with *seeking*, i.e., with making them a real end in life. How, he asks, " can one be said not to seek what he earnestly pleads that he may receive from God ? " This misconception leads him to set aside the literal and simple sense of the petition. He fails to see that modest prayer for these necessaries is the very means of avoiding the worry and preoccupation which Jesus meant by *seeking*.

(*b*) The sacramental sense he dismisses without any hesitation. The *daily bread* cannot be the Eucharist, for

most Eastern Churches "do not partake of the Lord's Supper daily." Besides, that would prevent us from saying the Lord's Prayer more than once a day. If it is a Eucharistic petition, for use at the daily Eucharist, then it is superfluous after a morning Eucharist, and the only alternative would be to celebrate the Eucharist at the very end of the day (vii. 26), leaving us free to repeat the Lord's Prayer as often as we like previously.

(*c*) The best interpretation, therefore (vii. 27), is to take the *daily bread* as equivalent to the spiritual food of the soul, "the divine precepts" which are meant by "the meat which perishes not" (John vi. 27). *This day* therefore means, "in the present temporal life"; he quotes Hebrews iii. 13 ("so long as it is called To-day").

When he came to write the *Enchiridion*, however, he was not quite so sure. "The 'daily bread' is so called because here [i.e., in the present life] it is needful to meet all the demands of the soul and the flesh, whether it is understood spiritually or literally (*carnaliter*) or in both senses" (115). Then, in the end, he falls back upon the comprehensive view of Tertullian and Cyprian. The only characteristic [1] remark upon the word "our" occurs in *Ep.* clxxxviii. 6. "We speak of '*our* daily bread,' but we add, 'give it to us,' lest it should be thought to come from ourselves." This is quite consonant with his general position. He was troubled by heretics and dissenters as sorely as Cyprian had been, but he does not use the petition as his predecessor had done, to mark off the orthodox Church, in possession of Christ and the real Bread, from unauthorised persons. Rather, he hears in the words an echo of the truth which

[1] It recurs in a comment on Job xxxiii. 26 by Gregory the Great, who observes that in this petition "we call the bread *ours*, and also pray that it may be given to us; for it becomes our own when we receive it, and yet it is God's as He gives it."

meant so much to him, the entire dependence of the Christian upon the grace and generosity of God.

The fifth petition (viii. 28, 29), which apparently was accompanied in church by the beating of the breast in token of humble confession, suggests to Augustine at the outset a very practical counsel. *Debts*, no doubt, mean sins in general; "when we say, *Forgive us our debts*, the words refer to all ways in which any one sins." But they include money-debts, and Augustine insists that the literal sense of *debtor* is to be borne in mind. If a Christian cannot get some debtor to pay back his debt, he must not go to law; the Christian method is to let the reluctant or recalcitrant debtor off, if he can pay and will not. Better lose the money than press the claim at law. At the same time Augustine advises the creditor, in a Christian spirit, to remonstrate earnestly with his debtor (who is a fellow-Christian), so as to prevent him from making shipwreck of his faith upon the love of money. In the case of a debtor who is too poor to pay, the Christian creditor's duty is clear; he must remit the debt and so do a Christian action.

This implies that almsgiving or charity, in the modern sense of the term, is a means, under God, of atoning for sins; and Augustine clearly admits this (e.g., *de perfectione justitiæ hominis* 24). Indeed he urges it, quoting as a proof and illustration the words of Luke xi. 41, "give alms, and all things are clean for you"—almsgiving being a form of self-purging from the stains of sin. How deeply rooted this idea is in his practical teaching may be seen in two passages. The first is from the tract *de perfectione justitiæ hominis* (34): "hoc enim agitur voluntate, credendo, sperando, diligendo, corpus castigando, *elemosynas faciendo*, iniurias ignoscendo, instanter orando et proficiendi vires precando ueraciterque dicendo, 'dimitte nobis, sicut et nos dimittimus,' et 'ne inferas nos in temptationem, sed

libera nos a malo,' hoc prorsus agitur, ut cor mundetur et peccatum omne tollatur." The second, from *contra epistolam Parmeniani* (ii. 10, 20), is as explicit: the petition refers, he writes, not to the sins pardoned at baptism, "Sed de his quæ cotidie de saeculi amarissimis fluctibus humanæ uitae infirmitas contrahit, quibus curandis medicamenta praebentur *elemosynarum*, ieiuniorum et orationum, ut in oratione dicatur quod in elemosynis agitur." In the treatise *de baptismo* (vi. 24, 45) he quotes (or rather misquotes as 'John') Peter's word about "charity (*caritas*) covering a multitude of sins" (1 Peter iv. 8), as if that were a direct comment upon this petition in the Lord's Prayer.

By the irony of circumstances he had to turn round upon those who quoted this petition (*Civit. Dei* xxi. 27) in favour of the view that almsgiving atoned for all sins. They held that the sins forgiven by the Father were not *qualiacumque* or *parva*, the little daily sins, but sins without any qualification; "hence," says Augustine indignantly, "however heinous the sins may be, and of whatever kind they may be, even though they are committed every day, even though a man's life never leaves them for better things, still they assume that these sins can be forgiven him if he practises almsgiving," almsgiving proportioned to the enormity of the sin in question. According to Augustine, *as we forgive our debtors* means 'as we forgive those who sin against us.' "To forgive a man who asks pardon is itself almsgiving" (*Enchiridion* 71).[1] And the prayer, *forgive us our debts*, or rather the Lord's Prayer itself, obliterates the small daily sins (*minima et quotidiana peccata*) in a believer's life, though it also wipes him clear of more heinous offences, provided that he breaks away from them and forgives those who sin against himself (*Enchirid.* 71).

[1] So, he adds (72), is discipline, correction and punishment inflicted by a man upon an offender; that is a real boon and mercy. But it must be done out of a heart that freely forgives any personal offence.

However, the scope of the petition is wider than this. Augustine has practically nothing to say upon it here, but elsewhere he is constantly quoting it to prove that even after baptism Christians need to pray for forgiveness. Thus, in 415 A.D., he wrote to Jerome: "whatever progress we may have made, we must say, *Forgive us our debts*, although all debts, in word, deed, and thought, have been taken from us in baptism" (*Ep.* clxvii. 15). "Never imagine," he writes to Count Boniface three years later (*Ep.* clxxxix. 8), "that you are without sin, no matter what progress you have made in love to God and your neighbour, and in true religion. . . . So long as you are in the body, you must say in prayer, *Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.* Remember then to forgive quickly any one who sins against you and asks pardon, in order that you may be able to pray sincerely and succeed in gaining pardon for your own sins." No thought recurs more often in his treatises,[1] especially in connexion with the words of Job vii. 1 (*numquid non tentatio est uita humana super terram?*); it is his chosen weapon against perfectionists, or against people like the Donatists who boasted of a sinless, perfect church (see *de correct. Donat.* ix. 38–39).

He even extends this prayer to the dead, as when he prays for Monica (*Confess.* ix. 35): "I know she acted in a merciful spirit, and from her heart forgave the debts of her debtors. Do Thou also forgive her debts, any that she incurred during all the years after she had been baptized with the water of salvation." But normally he confines the petition to the present Church, to Christians living in the interval between baptism and the final coming of God's kingdom. One day the Church will be without spot or wrinkle, he writes, e.g. (*de gestis Pelagii* xii. 28); "but

[1] E.g. *Civit. Dei* xix. 27, xxii. 23, *de fide et operibus* 26, *de continentia* 13, 25, *de sancta uirginitate* 48, on Ps. xxxix. 8, *de peccatorum meritis* ii. 16.

between the bath of baptism, in which all the old spots and wrinkles are removed, and the kingdom in which the Church will remain for ever without spot or wrinkle, lies the interval during which it is needful to pray in these words, 'Forgive us our debts.'"

The sixth petition (ix. 30–35) is read *ne nos inferas in tentationem, inferas* being, says Augustine, like the variant *inducas* (*de peccatorum meritis* ii. 4), a rendering of the Greek εἰσενέγκῃς. "Many say, when they pray, 'Suffer us not to be led into temptation,'[1] i.e., explaining what they mean by 'lead us not.'" He approves of this view; for God does not tempt men, He only allows them, for wise and good reasons of His own, to be led into temptation. Job's case causes Augustine much trouble, but he insists that neither Joseph nor Susanna was led into temptation. "Temptations take place by means of Satan, not by his power but by permission of the Lord, either to punish men for their sins or to prove and exercise them according to the Lord's mercy." It is one thing to be led into temptation, i.e., put into situations where temptations are too much for us. It is another thing to be tempted; no one can be exempt from this, and no one dare pray to be freed from it. For the aim of temptation is either to let a man gain better knowledge of himself, or to give people better knowledge of one another. The case in proof of the latter is Galatians iv. 13–14, "and your temptation in my flesh you despised not," i.e., Paul learned how staunch the Galatians were by seeing how his own troubles did not deter them from being kind. That temptation is sent in order that God may find out what is in man, Augustine bluntly denies. He quotes John vi. 6, "and this He said to prove him, for He Himself knew what He would do." The Lord always

[1] *Ne nos patiaris induci*—the interpretation already current, as we have seen, in the North African Church.

knows the heart; if He allows temptation, it is to reveal a man to himself or to others.

As early as 413 A.D. he warns Anastasius against people like the Pelagians who exaggerated the power of the human will and argued that "we ought not to pray that we might not enter into temptation" (*Ep.* cxlv. 8); not, he adds, that they dare to say this openly, but it is the logical outcome of their principles. "Why are we told, *watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation?* Why did He bid us, in terms of this injunction, when He was teaching us to pray, use the petition, *Lead us not into temptation*, if this lies wholly within the choice of the human will and does not require the help of divine grace to be accomplished?" This argument is repeated in *de bono uirginitatis* (21).

Augustine does not, at this point, take the last words, *but deliver us from evil*, as part and parcel of the preceding petition (ix. 35). They are a separate clause. "We must pray not only that we may not be led into an evil from which we are free, but that we may be freed from the evil into which we have been already led." That is, he regards these words as referring to a subsequent stage of experience. But, he adds, the deliverance cannot be complete as long as we are in this life and world. We must hope for it in the future.

In conclusion. Augustine's ideas upon the Prayer may seem to ignore the dogmatic summary which Tertullian and Cyprian found in it. But this is not so. In the *Enchiridion* (7) he expressly links it to the Creed. "You have the Creed (symbolum) and the Lord's Prayer," he tells Laurentius; "what can be heard or read more rapidly? What can be committed to memory more easily? When, in consequence of sin, the human race was being crushed under sore troubles and stood in need of the divine

mercy, the prophet predicted the time of God's grace when he said, *And it shall come to pass that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved* (Joel ii. 32). Hence the Lord's Prayer. But when the apostle quoted this prophetic testimony to prove this very grace, he at once added, *How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?* (Rom. x. 14). Hence the Creed. In these two you can see the three graces: faith believes, hope and love pray. But they cannot exist without faith. Hence faith also prays."

JAMES MOFFATT.

THE MATTHÆAN NARRATIVE OF THE NATIVITY.

THE doctrine of the Virgin Birth, which has been found by experience to satisfy the religious needs of a large part of Christendom, seems to have been little known in the apostolic age. St. Paul speaks of Christ as "born of a matron normally,"[1] and expresses the same thought more obscurely where he says that Christ, being in the form of God, took the form of a slave (man)[2]; for according to Aristotelian doctrine the elements contributed by father and mother respectively are [3] the form and the matter; and the popularity of this doctrine is evinced by the invention of the word *materies*, the source of our *matter*, i.e., "maternal element," to represent Aristotle's *hyle*. That early Christian document, the Acts of Thomas, produces a contract wherein Christ signs Himself *Jesus, son of Joseph the Carpenter*,[4] and where it throws doubts on the paternity of Joseph, throws similar doubts on the maternity of Mary.[5] Further it interprets the epithet Thomas (the Twin) applied to the Apostle Judas as Twin of Christ; and early texts of the Gospels contain traces of this Apostle's real name,[6] which has probably been banished rather from fear of this inference than from dislike of the name Judas. It is also noteworthy that in the identification scene of John xx. 24–29 it is this Apostle who desires to see certain bodily marks, which (as a comparison of texts seems

[1] Gal. iv. 4, *γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικὸς γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον*. That *γυνή* is opposed to *παρθένος* appears from many passages, e.g. Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 148, *ἕως τις ἀντὶ παρθένου γυνὴ κληθῇ*. Whether *νόμος* here means law of nature, custom (as in Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1207), or law of Moses, does not affect the correctness of the above rendering.

[2] Phil. ii. 6, 7.

[3] *De Generatione Animalium*, i. § 21, p. 729.

[4] Ed. Bonnet, 1903, p. 102.

[5] Ibid., p. 250, 3, 4.

[6] See Merx's *Commentary on Matthew*, p. 172.

to indicate) were probably not in the original narrative traces of the crucifixion.

In the Pauline Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles the descent of the Saviour from David is assumed, though it is apparently repudiated in a narrative inserted in the Gospels. Where the latter endeavour to prove it, in the genealogies produced in the First and Third Gospels, they trace that descent through Joseph : a process obviously inconsistent with the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. Since the narrative which in the Greek Matthew follows that genealogy insists on that doctrine, the narrative is evidently inconsistent with the genealogy ; yet the two cannot altogether be separated, since in the narrative Joseph is addressed as "son of David." It could therefore be inferred that the doctrine had been introduced into a narrative which did not originally contain it. This inference was raised almost into a certainty by the discovery of the Lewisian Syriac, of which the Greek—as demonstrated by the mistranslation in xii. 19—is in the main a translation. If the Syriac and Greek texts be compared, it is found that the Greek translator has introduced a number of alterations in favour of this doctrine ; he has omitted the words which assert the paternity of Joseph, added words which contradict it, and made further slight changes with the same purpose. Yet the Syriac text, though it repeatedly asserts Joseph's paternity, is not quite free, at any rate at first sight, from the doctrine.

The author, having traced the pedigree of the Saviour down to Joseph, may be expected to state how Joseph came to be His father ; not, how he came to be called his father, for this would require a different pedigree. Some obstacle then stood in the way of the marriage and this was supernaturally removed. It may be assumed that this was something honourable to all parties, not something which involved concealment and deceit.

The starting-point for any inquiry into the true import of the narrative must be the text of which it exhibits the fulfilment—Isaiah vii. 14. The Greek here reproduces the quotation in the form which it takes in the Lewisian text, which is traceable to the Peshiṭta Syriac version of the Old Testament. The Hebrew of this verse naturally means, *Behold the girl* (*ha 'almah*) *is* (or *shall be*) *pregnant and about to bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Immanuel.* This rendering is adopted by the LXX. The editors of the Hebrew practically corrected the text, substituting *and she shall call* for *and thou shalt call.* The Peshiṭta of the Old Testament substituted *and his name shall be called.* This is adopted by the Curetonian Syriac. The Lewisian Syriac changes this into *and they shall call his name.* This is taken over by the ordinary Greek translation of Matthew, unless we should rather say that the Greek translator made the alteration, having before him a text here agreeing with the Curetonian, and that the alteration came thence into the Lewisian Syriac, which may here and there display Greek influence, though normally the Curetonian corrects the original Lewisian text from Greek sources.

The expressions *his name shall be called* and *they shall call his name* are practically identical, as the Margin of the A.V. suggests ; yet for even so slight a variation a reason may be found. *His name shall be called* in such a case (the naming of a child) suggests that the name is given authoritatively, i.e. by parents. The objection might well be felt that the name thus given to the Saviour was not Immanuel, but Jesus : an objection not indeed in the sense of the author, who shows that the two are identical. *They shall call* implies nothing of the sort, and it often occurs that a name is popularly given which differs from the name originally assigned. To every reader of Greek there would occur the case (not altogether inappropriate) of that son whom Hector called

Scamandrius, but the others Astyanax, because Hector alone *saved* Ilios.

The Syriac Matthew in other places takes its quotations from the Syriac Bible; but the correctors of the Syriac Matthew do not go thither, but to Greek MSS. for revision. It cannot then well be doubted that in this quotation the Curetonian takes us back to the earliest form of the Syriac Matthew, which underlies the Greek equally whether the further slight alteration was made by the Greek translator or by a Syriac corrector.

The reasons which led to the alteration of the phrase of Isaiah, *and thou shalt call*, can be traced. The person addressed is king Ahaz; the *'almah* might well be a slave-girl of the king; but as he has emphatically refused to have anything to do with a sign, it is unlikely that he would be told to assign a name therewith connected. The analogy of viii. 3 would suggest that the child was to be the Prophet's; in this case *thou shalt call* (if addressed to Ahaz) would be inappropriate; hence the word was so pointed as to mean *and she shall call*. By retaining *and thou shalt call*, the LXX. translator, though he renders *ha-'almah the virgin*, is clearly not thinking of a virgin birth; for "*thou shalt call*" is evidently addressed to the child's father. He probably employed the word *παρθένος*, *virgin*, as a somewhat choicer expression than a word signifying "girl"; he uses it elsewhere as a rendering of *'almah*. In Syriac the distinction between definite and indefinite is far less clear than in Greek or Hebrew; the sentence in that language might mean either *the virgin* or *a virgin* shall, etc., and it would appear that the Syriac translator of Isaiah (who also renders the word by *virgin*) was influenced by the LXX. Since *thou shalt call* introduced the suggested difficulty, he altered this to *shall be called*, supposing that *thou* stood for the indefinite pro-

noun. Here then the prophecy of the virgin birth may well have arisen.

Now, as has been seen, the genealogy excludes the virgin birth ; if then the text of Isaiah was quoted by the author of the genealogy, it must have had some other purpose than that which it has in the Greek version of Matthew. And if the text in the Syriac Isaiah implies a virgin birth, Syriac cannot be the original language of the passage. Further evidence that the original language of the Gospel in this chapter was not Syriac is to be found in verse 21, *thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people* (Curetonian *the world*) *from his sins.* Since the root to which the name Jesus belongs is not found in Syriac at all, had Syriac been the original language, it is reasonable to suppose that the Hebrew word would have been elucidated.

The verses of the Syriac which suggest the Virgin Birth are the following :

18. *Now the birth of Christ was thus. Mary his mother having been wedded* (or *betrothed*) *to Joseph, before cohabitation she was found* [*to be* or *about to be*] *pregnant from the Holy Spirit. Now Joseph, her husband, because he was just, was unwilling to expose Mary, and bethought him to divorce her quietly. But when he thought these things, the angel of the Lord was seen by him in a vision, and said to him : Joseph, son of David, fear not to take Mary thy wife ; for that which shall be born of her is from the Holy Spirit. Now she shall bear thee a son, etc.*

The word rendered *wedded* may also be rendered *betrothed,* and it appears from Tobit vii. 12 that the two ceremonies might be united. Since the text proceeds to speak of Joseph as "her husband," the rendering *wedded* is right. Yet the situation seems rather to favour the rendering *betrothed.* For otherwise the phrase *fear not to take* involves difficulties.

Indeed the view of the matter taken by the Greek translator involves a whole series of difficulties. The desire to hush up evil is attributed to the sense of justice; it may be said that no community has ever taken this view, least of all where the law for dealing with the case is supposed to be divine. Fear is confused with repugnance. "Was found" is employed where, as the subject is a rational agent, "asserted" or "confessed" should have been used.

Now New Testament writers seem agreed that spiritual generation has nothing to do with physical generation. *That which is begotten of flesh is flesh, and that which is begotten of spirit is spirit,* we read in the Fourth Gospel (iii. 6). Divine sonship consists in being led by the Spirit of God (Rom. viii. 14).

The import of the phrase *pregnant from the Holy Spirit* is adequately and convincingly explained by St. Paul in Galatians iv. 28, 29 compared with Romans ix. 6–9. Isaac is born after the Spirit, Ishmael after the flesh. The difference lay in the fact that Isaac's birth had been preceded by a divine promise; that of Ishmael was natural only. Of Abraham's paternity in both cases there is no question. What was discovered then in the case of Mary was that her maternity was to be, or had been, preceded by a Divine promise; i.e. that she was the destined mother of the Messiah. The scruple of Joseph is not a doubt of the bride's worthiness, but of his own. The Divine promise is now given, and so what is meant by birth from the Holy Spirit is fulfilled.

The difficulties which have been noticed in the Greek view of the matter disappear automatically; only the Evangelist does not state how the discovery was made. This is, indeed, told in the Third Gospel, where the commemorative verses quoted indicate the employment of a Hebrew document, the relation of which to the original of Matthew is not clear. The

word rendered above *expose* meant *put to shame* in the sense of humiliating, and the whole scene is similar to that with which the *Electra* of Euripides commences. There the Peasant who lives in nominal marriage with the king's daughter, though himself "not base of blood, but in gold and land most poor, which maketh highest birth as naught,"

would hold it shame
To abase this daughter of a royal name.[1]

He, like Joseph, is restrained by sentiments which are similar to, if not identical with, the sense of justice and fear.

Now this is what can be made out of the Syriac on the assumption that it represents its original faithfully; the participle following the word for *she was found*, which the Greek has rendered in the present tense, should have been rendered in the future [2]; but, as has been seen, the Syriac Old Testament has already introduced the idea of the Virgin Birth, whence it is at least possible that the original of Matthew was less ambiguous than its Syriac rendering.

Now the argument whereby the writer identifies the name Immanuel with Jesus is the following. The latter means *shall save*, i.e. *his people* or (Curetonian) *the world, from his sins;* the singular form of the possessive suffix (altered in the Greek to the plural) suggests that the *world* of the Curetonian is the earlier. Now the principle that only God can forgive sins is indicated elsewhere in the Gospel (ix. 3, 6); hence this name is equivalent to another which means *God with us*.

Since Isaiah repeatedly states that it is his object and mission to mystify, the principle of this method of exegesis at any rate is not improper; it is, however, likely that the word *ha-'almah* was thought to be prophetic also, and to be realised in the mother of the Saviour. It is noticeable that the only place in the Old Testament where it is used of a

[1] Murray's translation, p. 5.

[2] For the double use of the Syriac participle, see Duval's Grammar. § 330.

definite person is Exodus ii. 8, where it is used of a sister of Moses, identified by Josephus and others with Mary (Miriam), who is first mentioned in chapter xv. The only Rabbinic comments which have been recorded appear to treat the word *ha-ʿalmah* in this case as a proper name, to which a Hebrew and an Aramaic etymology are assigned. Since then the Evangelist adopts the theory of equivalent names in the case of Immanuel, it is likely that he adopts it also in the case of *ha-ʿalmah*, which he regards as equivalent with *Mary*.

The purpose of the quotation in the original form of this Gospel was then to find the name of the Messiah's mother in Old Testament prophecy; and against the method employed there is no *a priori* objection. Now it is worthy of observation that in the Fourth Gospel, though the name Joseph is given for that of Christ's father (real or supposed), the name of His mother is not only not mentioned, but (xix. 25) *Mary* appears to be the name of His mother's sister, in which case it could not well have been also her own. It is conceivable that the suspicion arose that the name had been inferred from the text of Isaiah, and that here, as elsewhere, the author of the Fourth Gospel corrects indirectly a notion which previous evangelists had accepted.

The notion of a virgin-mother ordinarily belongs to the city-worships of the ancients. The virgin-daughter of Sion is also the mother of the inhabitants. A virgin-fortress is one that has not been stormed or captured; but its personification is also thought of as the mother of the city. The idea is familiar in the cases of Artemis, the virgin of Ephesus, and of Athene, the virgin of Athens; as early as in the Iliad the ideas have to be mythologically reconciled. We have scarcely got free from the notion in these days, where Britannia, who rules the seas, Helvetia, France, etc., are virgin mothers.

Now so long as these expressions are metaphorical and recognised, at least semi-consciously, to be abstractions, difficulties do not arise. It is different, however, when they are brought into the material world, not because *parthenogenesis* is an impossibility, but because it is generally believed to be an impossibility, and the unmarried mother is an outcast even in modern society, whereas in older communities she was liable to capital punishment; by the Law of Moses, as interpreted by Josephus, who is contemporary with the Gospels, to be stoned or burnt alive. That is what the Greek translator meant by *to make her a public example*, if he took the trouble to envisage the situation. Doubtless such a thought thrills the reader with horror in the case of one who may well be regarded with reverence and affection. The terrible danger is averted by a vision wherein Joseph is told to satisfy public opinion. It is difficult to regard this conception as other than degrading to the Divine Being, whom we are bound to associate with fearlessness and truth.

Doubtless to Greek pagans such notions would be familiar, but it is a marvel how Clement of Alexandria can taunt them with entertaining the like. The pagans had an obvious reply or retort. And indeed in the process of the development of the doctrine an avenue was provided in the form which the narrative assumed for the introduction of old pagan terms, such as *Theotokos*, which (at least in the poetical form *Theetokos*) belonged to the goddess Rhea. Those terms, or rather the ideas which they represent, doubtless gratified widely spread religious needs; otherwise the mere occurrence of the word meaning *a virgin* in the quotation from the Syriac Old Testament would not have been sufficient to introduce so popular a doctrine.

That the doctrine was not at first accepted universally appears from the attitude of the Fourth Gospel, whose author almost at the commencement of his work urges that divine

sonship excludes human motherhood [1] no less than human fatherhood, and records the dialogue with Nicodemus wherein the confusion of spiritual with human parentage is branded as an elementary error.

That the word *ha-'almah* in the passage of Isaiah is not an anti-Christian interpolation is shown by the Jewish objection to the Christian employment of the passage, recorded by Justin, whose date is too early to admit of this supposition. The Peshiṭta (O.T.) rendering *virgin* has been cited as an example of Christian interpolation in that version [2]; but since the form of the quotation in the Gospel is, as has been seen, traceable to the Peshiṭta rendering, this is highly improbable; and the supposed traces of Christian interpolation in Isaiah ix. 5 are still more obscure.

The history of the O.T. quotations in the Gospels appears to be the most important element in tracing their genesis, but it is extraordinarily complicated, owing to the fact that the Syriac translators of the earliest texts at times reproduced the Syriac version, at times translated afresh, while the Greek translators at times rendered the Syriac, at others reproduced the LXX., or at any rate corrected from that source. An interesting case for study is Deuteronomy vi. 5, where there is the following list:

Hebrew: *heart, soul, strength.*

LXX.: *mind, soul, power.*[3]

Syriac: *heart, soul, possession.*

Lewisian (Matt. xxii. 37): *heart, soul, strength.*

Greek: *heart, soul, mind.*

Mark (Greek xii. 28): *heart, soul, mind, strength.*

Peshiṭta of Matt. xxii. 37: *heart, soul, strength, mind.*

The last two clearly combine the Syriac and Greek texts of Matthew. The Greek of Matthew apparently corrects the

[1] i. 13, ἐξ αἱμάτων. For the meaning of this see Aristotle cited above.
[2] Duval, *Histoire d'Edesse*, 1892, p. 109. [3] See Field's *Hexapla*.

Syriac (Lewisian) rendering from the LXX., but introduces *mind* in the wrong place. What is of interest is that the *strength* of Mark cannot well have any other source than the Lewisian text of Matthew, which independently renders the Hebrew quotation.

D. S. Margoliouth.

THE OUTLOOK OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

In these days of international conflict conducted on a scale unprecedented in human history men have been drawn with reawakened interest to the ancient apocalyptic writings, both Jewish and Christian. And this is very natural; for in times of distress, of disaster, and of oppression, people are fain to turn to the literary creations and thoughts which have been evoked from the reflexion or imagination of strong souls in similar conditions of human experience. In the midst of a prevalent pessimism the writers of parables, visions, revelations, and the like, were the radical optimists. They saw beyond the darkness to the dawning, and for their depressed co-religionists they rang out vibrant tones of encouragement and hope. Each war, defeat, or persecution was for them symbolic of the long drawn out conflict between Good and Evil, God and Satan, Beliar, or Antichrist, in whatever terms the opposing powers of darkness might be personified. The modern re-examination of primitive writings, especially of this type, may be regarded as valuable or futile, according as the aim and endeavour is either to seek out the religious and moral principles underlying such a reading of contemporary history, and thus to furnish practical counsel and ethical admonition, or else to treat such compositions as merely so much material for speculation, and for the calculating out of dates and the identification of peoples or persons figuring in the present distress of nations.

But before we conduct any investigation into the expectations to which early Christian apocalypses, say, for example, during the second century, bear witness, it is advisable to obtain first of all some fairly comprehensive view of the outlook of the plainer and generally less imaginative writings which for the most part preceded them, and which, with one exception, were only quite incidentally apocalyptic. Now the extant literary remains of the sub-apostolic age are usually termed the Apostolic Fathers, although that title is not strictly accurate either as to period or persons. As is well known, these include (i.) the letter of the Church at Rome to that of Corinth, penned by Clement ; (ii.) the mid-second century homily called 2 Clement ; (iii.) the seven epistles of Ignatius of Antioch, as enumerated by Eusebius, written on his way to martyrdom at Rome towards the close of the reign of Trajan ; (iv.) the anti-Judaic tract entitled the epistle of Barnabas, and (v.) the ultimately related Teaching of the Apostles, although the former is in character more of an Apology. To these is added (vi.) the one virtually apocalyptic work, the Shepherd of Hermas, roughly from the middle of the second century ; and the material from the hand of, and relative to, Polycarp of Smyrna, namely, (vii.) his letter to the Philippians, written shortly after the death of Ignatius, and (viii.) the epistle of the church at Smyrna narrating the story of the former's martyrdom. The so-called Epistle to Diognetus, although commonly included in this " apostolic " literature, is better left to be treated among the remains of the Christian Apologists. It has often been pointed out that the written relics of these " Apostolic Fathers " are disappointing alike in amount and quality. Their calibre is poor when compared with the literary force and spiritual genius of a Paul or a John. But, apart from the anonymous apocalyptic writers and the more or less official " apologists," whose testimony must be

examined in turn later on, they are all that we possess—outside the late portions of the New Testament itself—from that sub-apostolic period which covers roughly the larger half of the second Christian century.

1. *The Parousia.* Undoubtedly the dominant feature of primitive expectation, as the New Testament writings themselves adequately testify, was the Return, the Coming or Parousia of the risen Lord. "Our Lord, come!" formed the very heart of the prayer of the waiting Church. Let us inquire then first, What is the nature of our authors' outlook in this matter?

The Roman community, as represented by Clement at the end of the first century, expects the Coming to be accomplished soon and suddenly, as Malachi and Isaiah had suggested (xxiii. 4 f.), and at this "visitation" those who are the pious will be made manifest (1, 3). Barnabas, with his love for anti-Jewish Testimonies or "Scripture proofs," speaks of the Lord being seen and acknowledged by the Jews who had rejected Him; although he does not define the proximity of the event (vii. 9), but lays stress on the judicial and cosmic functions of the Son (xv. 5). The related Teaching, on the other hand, emphasises in its closing section the demand, familiar from the Gospels, for immediate readiness (xvi. 1); and the belief of this work is that the vision of the Lord's coming will be a world-wide heavenly spectacle, following upon the celestial "sign," the trumpet sound, and the resurrection of the saints (6 ff.). And in the letter of Polycarp to the Philippians (ii. 1), the Christ, with universal dominion, enthroned and coming as Judge of all, forms a striking figure.

According to the witness of Hermas, the church of the Capital towards the middle of the century anticipated a visit from the Lord of the Church, the Master of the Tower that was built of stones representative of the souls of men who

bore His name, speedily, suddenly, and gloriously (Sim. V. v. 3 : IX. v. 2 ff. ; vii. 6 ; x. 4 ; cf. Vis. III. iii. 1 ; viii. 9). But that the manifestation of the glorified Christ was also regarded as an " epiphany " of God is shown in the almost contemporary homily which became strangely attributed to Clement of Rome (xii. 1). The day of His appearing is unknown, so Christians must be ready and waiting, hour by hour. The spectacle, as in the Teaching, will be a universal one, and faithful and unbelievers alike will see the sovereignty bestowed on Jesus (xvii. 4 f.). Although the dread of the coming in judgment inspires the most grave and solemn warnings, yet the accents of joy and hope are sometimes heard. Again and again in the letters of Ignatius, written on the journey to his death, Christ is said to be the Hope, the common hope (Eph. i. 2 ; xxi. 2 ; Phil. v. 2 ; xi. 2), the new (Magn. ix. 1) and perfect (Smyrn. x. 2) hope of His Church (cf. Clem. xxvii. 1 ; li. 1 ; lvii. 2 ; Barn. xi. 11). And for the blithe gladness of the baptized the " songs of the coming of the Lord " which they now sing with joy, and of which the so-called Odes of Solomon tell (vii. 19 f.), are sufficient witness ; while joy, future as well as present, is also a frequently recurring note in the Similitudes of Hermas.

The mention of the Parousia is thus comparatively speaking infrequent ; but that is hardly surprising when so large a proportion of these extant writings deals with ministry and organisation, discipline and matters of conduct, rather than with Christian expectations as such.

2. *Resurrection.* Perhaps, with the stress of the Pauline Epistles especially in mind, it is most fitting to ascertain in the next place the view which these writers exhibit as being current concerning the Resurrection, and more particularly that of faithful Christians. What is peculiarly significant and strange to our modern conceptions, and a curious reaction

from the clear teaching of the Apostle of the Gentiles as to a "spiritual body" on the one hand, and from the mysticism of the Fourth Gospel on the other, is the growing emphasis on the resuscitation of the flesh, this material body, although it is but mild compared with the detailed materialism of some of the Apologists subsequently. And, save in Ignatius, the doctrine is supported rather by real or seeming Nature analogies than by the reports concerning the risen body of the Lord.

The "future resurrection" is strongly asserted in Clement's letter to Corinth (xxiv. 1), as if the old doubts there were by no means yet wholly dispelled (xxvi. 1), and is fortified by scriptural proofs from the Psalms and Job (xxvi. 2), as well as by typical examples from the natural order—the coming of day, the ripening of crops (xxiv. 2), and also by the strange legend of the phœnix (xxv.). It has been already noted above that the Resurrection, as one of the signs before the Coming, is regarded in the Teaching as "not of all the dead," but only of the saints (xvi. 7), on the ground of the words in the prophecy of "Zechariah" (xiv. 5). According to Barnabas, not only was the Resurrection "shown" in the Lord's own experience—and hence the Christians' "eighth day" joy (xiv. 8)—but He will Himself be the Agent of resurrection as well as the Judge of the risen (v. 6 f.); and it is the doers of the divine will who will rise and be glorified (xxi. 1).

The martyr-bishop of Antioch refers many times in the Seven Letters to this subject; but he lays the stress mainly on the reality (and that physical and fleshly) of the resurrection of Jesus, having especially in view the controverting of the Doketic tendencies of his day. He urges that the Lord was "truly raised," and so shall we Christians be (Trall. ix. 2). He "was in the flesh after the resurrection," and that was of His own power (Smyrn. ii. 1). He was

"touched," and "ate and drank with them as a being of flesh, albeit united in spirit to the Father" (iii. 1 ff.; cf. xii. 2); and in this historic fact lies the assurance for the Church (Phil. sal.) and a factor of its inviolable charter (viii. 2). But he looked in fulness of hope to rise again after his martyrdom through the prayer of the faithful (Eph. xi. 2), to rise to God (Rom. ii. 2), and free in Christ (iv. 3). Our rising, indeed, is dependent upon the reality of the passion of Jesus (Smyrn. v. 3), and on our fulfilment of human love (vii. 1). Similarly, according to Polycarp, God raised and glorified Jesus, and will in turn raise us up "if we do his will" (Phil. ii. 1 f.). "Second Clement" is even stronger than the genuine letter from Rome in its insistence on the resuscitation of, and judgment in, "this flesh" (ix. 1 f., 5). And consequently, as with Paul, the corollary of suitably pure and moral conduct in the body is proportionately enforced (3 f.). The pure and loving Christians "gather the immortal fruit of the Resurrection" (xix. 3). In this connexion we may refer to the grosser view of Papias, concerning a period of ten thousand years after the Resurrection, and the establishment of a material kingdom of Christ on this earth, which is known to us from Eusebius (*H. E.* III. xxxix.; cf. Iren. *Haer.* V. xxxiii. 3 f.).

Evidently, in self-defence against the growing influence of Gnostic doctrine with its "spiritual" and anti-material tendencies, the primitive Church felt compelled through its preachers and writers to lay what is to us an undue stress on a literal physical resuscitation, an emphasis which indeed increased through the exigencies of controversy as time went on, but which is out of harmony with our knowledge and is alien to our conceptions. For to us moderns it is not so much the divine power to restore bodies—for which the Apologists argued, and which mediaeval and modern painters have depicted—that is in question, but rather the

very necessity for presupposing or expecting such divine activity as essential to the preservation, or to the persistence, of a complete human personality. Our conception of personality is more subtle and refined, yet more truly comprehensive; and we have not a Gnosticism to combat, and to force us to adopt a mode of argument which involves the holding of a materialistic psychology which is now obsolete.

3. *Judgment.* Intimately connected with the Resurrection in the minds of Jewish and early Christian thinkers alike was the fact of the Judgment, which intervenes as a "day" of divine decision and separation before the life of bliss in the Kingdom or of woe and punishment in the dwelling-places of the ungodly. As these writings were intended for those who were already Christians, we naturally do not find any great prominence given to this aspect, save in passages of admonition and rebuke. Barnabas, writing with the Judaists especially in view, and pseudo-Clement, in his homily inculcating purity of life, provide most of the references thereto. The former lays stress on the individuality of judgment based upon life's conduct, in order to correct the unguarded confidence of the baptized in the fact of their having been called (iv. 12 f.). And he tells his readers that He (Jesus) who raises the dead will "indifferently minister justice" on the risen (v. 7). This judging will include the godless in its scope (xv. 5). The closing portion of the tractate, utilising the Jewish manual of "The Two Ways," urges the constant remembrance of (xix. 10), and the being found faithful in, the day of judgment which is at hand (xxi. 6). The preacher of 2 Clement opens with the solemn demand upon his hearers to "think of Jesus Christ as of God, as the Judge of the living and the dead" (i. 1). In anticipation of such judgment, constant mutual love and sustained helpfulness are necessary for the sake of the weak brethren (xvii.). Those Christians who control self may

look for "the mercy of Jesus" in the approaching day of judgment with all its cosmic terrors (xvi. 2 f.). This factor of belief, while evoking a healthy awe in those who are pursuing their righteous calling (xviii. 1 f.), suggests also a glad and grateful experience in the spectacle of the fiery torture of the apostates in "the day of his appearing" (xvii. 4 ff.). Herein we find an echo of a familiar note of Jewish apocalyptic.

Passing on to other writers, Ignatius contributes the thought, which is also Pauline, that the range of judgment includes among its subjects both angels and heavenly rulers as well as men, if they fail to believe in the Passion of the Lord (Smyrn. vi. 1). And in view of the nearness of the End, he presses the warning that the very longsuffering of God may become judgment for such as do not choose present grace instead of future wrath (Eph. xi. 1). To Polycarp, the backsliding believer fares no better than a Gentile in the Judgment, and he further quotes the teaching of the Apostle about "the saints" as quasi-assessors for the conviction of the world (xi. 2). And in the Epistle which recounts his martyrdom, the bishop is recorded to have spoken to the Proconsul of "the fire which awaits the wicked in the judgment to come" (xi. 2). Then as to the evidence furnished by authors belonging to the Church at Rome, the tendency of Clement is to found his warnings on the divine judgments of old time, as recorded in the well-known Hebrew stories (xi. 2; xvii. 5), so that his readers, taking care that God's goodness become not judgment (xxi. 1), may find shelter under the pinions of His mercy from coming judgments (xxviii. 1). Hermas, however, in his insistence on the rudimentary scheme of ecclesiastical penance which he favoured, has little to say of these matters. But he also upholds the coming judgment before his readers' minds as an incentive to acts of charitable ministration while the time permits

(Vis. III. ix. 5), and in order that they may in such wise "find mercy" when the Church renders account to her Lord (8, 10; cf. Mand. II. 5). The frequent reference to exclusion from the City, the Church, The Tower, provides of course another figure of the darker issues of judgment (Sim. I. 5; IX. xvii. 5; xviii. 3; X. iv. 4, etc.). The early psalms of pseudo-Solomon imply that the Saviour is also Judge (xli. 12). Such, in the person of Wisdom, He proclaims Himself to be, and the dispenser of "the new world" to His faithful ones (xxxiii. 5 ff.); but the connotation is not strictly eschatological.

4. *The Kingdom.* We must next endeavour to realise in what measure we can what is the characteristic attitude of these early writers towards the life after death, or, more particularly, we must inquire what were the prevalent constituents of their beliefs concerning the Kingdom of God (or of Christ), and then do the same with regard to Life, the term which in itself signified the state of blessedness. Let us turn first to the references to the Kingdom, since this was the burden of the original revelation of the Gospel. Here we have to deal with a rich amount of allusion, which necessitates quite terse treatment.

At the outset, we are told by Clement (xlii. 3) that the proclamation of the coming Kingdom formed the staple of the apostolic preaching, based on the assurance of the Resurrection of the Lord and of the outpouring of the Spirit; and in this Kingdom pre-Christian men, "perfected in love" by divine grace, will have their share (1, 3). In writings of the more distinctively Jewish-Christian type some curious "testimonies" are sought from the old scriptures to the effect that Christ reigns from the Cross. "The kingdom of Jesus is on the wood," says Barnabas (viii. 5 f.); but from this kingdom evil will not yet have been eliminated, and suffering is the way to the attainment thereof (vii. 11).

Yet the kingdom of the Lord is, or becomes, that of God (iv. 13 ; xxi. 1), while, from the use of the ancient expression " possess the earth," its quasi-material and mundane nature is also apparent (vi. 17 ; cf. Papias, *supra*). So in the Teaching the Church is preliminary and subordinate to the Kingdom which is " prepared," and into which it will be " gathered " (ix. 4 ; x. 5 ; cf. Shemoneh Esreh, x.). The Syrian bishop-martyr also uses the legal symbolism of inheritance which emerged in the Lord's teaching, when he writes that corrupters and schismatics will not " inherit the Kingdom of God " (Eph. xii. 1 ; Philad. iii. 3).

Similarly, an old familiar turn of phrase is taken up or quoted by the Italian author of the Shepherd in his repeated usage of the figure of " entering " the Kingdom. That is only accomplished by aspirants through the new gate of the Rock-Tower, manifested at the close of the consummation, that is in the name of the Son (Sim. IX. xii. 3 ff.). They must possess His powers and virtues, which even His supporting archangels require (8), and are symbolised by the maidens who clothe men for the Kingdom (xiii. 2). The stones likewise from the deep must come through the water ere they possess the right to enter (xvi. 2 f.). Such a message, therefore, was proclaimed and such a sacrament utilised, according to his doctrine, among the dead (4). As in the Gospel story, the rich enter with difficulty (xx. 2 f.) ; but they are fitted for building into the Tower which is the Church, and so for the Kingdom, when all worldliness has been cut away from them (xxxi. 2). But the stones of the white mountain, that is the innocent ones, shall " without doubt live therein " (xxix. 2). The author of the sermon that goes by Clement's name, on the other hand, holds up before his hearers the ideal of " rest " in the coming Kingdom ; and this reminds us of the recurring note of repose which is one of the characteristics of the Odes of Solomon. But the Kingdom, with its felicity

of promises fulfilled is "attained" only by love (ix. 6), and "entered" by the doing of righteousness (xi. 7). Engaged in such conduct the faithful must wait for the unknown day of its advent (xii. 1), which, according to a curious interpretation of an uncanonical and untraced "saying," will be, apparently, when goodness is undisturbed by thought of sex. It is the Lord's kingdom, but also that of His Father (2 ff.). Similarly, with the warnings of Ezekiel in the memory, only the "pure and undefiled" among the baptized can expect to "enter into the palace of God" (vi. 9). The closing doxology of the story of Polycarp's martyrdom mentions the "heavenly kingdom," to which God's grace can bring us all (xx. 2); while the final paragraph, which supplies the date of his death, emphasises the permanent Imperial dignity of the Christians' Lord, in the words "Jesus Christ reigning for ever," whose throne is eternal (xxi.). And these phrases find echoes in the further conclusions to the letter which were subsequently added. The Pauline note of a reigning together with Christ, of which this reference reminds us, had already been struck again by Polycarp himself in writing to the Philippians, and the condition therefor was faith (v. 2). Such a co-regnancy implied "lot and part with" His other saints as well (xii. 2). We may add that the inheritance and all-possession of the Son of Truth in the Odes (xxiii. 16 f.) seems to reveal in more mysterious terms the diffusion of an idea kindred to that to which allusion has just been made.

5. *Life.* Frequently, when the Kingdom as such is not mentioned, the use of the term Life, as its inalienable characteristic and most desirable feature, is discoverable instead. And this expression, together with the closely related ideas of immortality and incorruption, is especially prominent in the language of Ignatius in the East and of Hermas in the West. To the former, the whole manifestation of God in the

Incarnation was concerned with the " beginning " of life and the " abolition " of death (Eph. xix. 3). Christ is therefore our " life " as well as our " hope," and that inseparable (iii. 2) and true (Eph. vii. 2 ; xi. 1 ; Trall. ix. 2 ; Smyrn. iv. 1), and also everlasting (Magn. i. 2 ; cf. v. 2). Even the anointings of the Lord in His earthly ministry were regarded as being symbolical of His " breathing immortality on the Church " (Eph. xvii. 1) ; and the " one bread " which He instituted for the Church is stated in well-known words to be " the medicine of immortality, the antidote that we should not die, but live in Jesus Christ for ever " (xx. 2). The Cross also itself is an object of self-dedication for the writer's spirit, because it is to believers " salvation and life eternal " (xviii. 1). And Good Friday and Easter are linked together, in that men of the " new hope " live " for the Lord's day, on which also our life arose through him and his death " (Magn. ix. 1). To " live according to Jesus Christ " was in fact the ideal for the united faithful (Philad. iii. 2), just as " immortality and eternal life " constituted the prize from the heavenly mint for " God's athlete," the Christian martyr (Pol. ii. 3). Indeed, " the Gospel " as such, the new dispensation, is itself " the perfection (*ἀπάρτισμα*) of incorruption " (Philad. ix. 2). Once at least we are conscious of the true missionary fervour side by side with the earnest ecclesiastical zeal of Ignatius, when we are told that " perfect faith and love are the beginning and end of life," and that the two united are divine (Eph. xiv. 1).

Life *par excellence*, the " life to God," is markedly prominent in the Shepherd. The traditional apocalyptic conception of the " books of life," in which the names of the saints are inscribed, meets us on more than one occasion (Vis. I. iii. 2 ; Sim. II. 9), with the characteristic conditions of genuine penitence and loving conduct. The attainment or inheriting of life which is everlasting is dependent upon

the manifestation of qualities such as faith, continence, and so forth (Vis. III. viii. 4 f.; Sim. V. vii. 2), and upon obedience and the keeping of the truth and the commandments (Mand. III. 5; VII. 5; Sim. VIII. vii. 6; X. iii. 4, etc.). Such disciplined souls have life with or in God; but, in accordance with the author's familiar doctrine of *one* post-baptismal repentance, the subject of successive acts of penitence will "hardly live" (Mand. IV. iii. 6; cf. Sim. IX. xxiii. 3). It is the change of heart in connexion with the initiatory sacrament which is fundamental. The believer's life is "saved through water"; that is why the Tower of the Visions is built on water (III. 5), and Baptism is, as we have seen, the life-giving seal even for the dead (Sim. IX. xvi. 2 ff.). It is the righteous and pure, like the budding trees of the Parable, that are destined to live (or dwell) in the summer-time of the world to come, and bear fruit therein (Sim. IV. 2 ff.; cf. VIII. viii. 5; ix. 2, etc.). Although, with Hermas, human freedom is clearly acknowledged, and the sense of the urgency of repentance is so strongly developed that the latter is said to "have" life, and its absence to cause the loss thereof (Sim. VIII. vi. 6), yet the part of divine grace is equally recognised, for in the world to come (symbolised by the white portion of the head of the Beast) will dwell spotless and clean "those who have been chosen by God for eternal life" (Vis. IV. iii. 5). Or, as otherwise put, it is the Angel of Repentance who restores the hope of life (Sim. IX. xiv. 3; cf. xxvi. 2). In almost all the Mandates, and in several of the Similitudes (especially in the later sections of the ninth), we find our author's significant and favourite phrase "live to God," as expressive of the ideal and fruition for the Christian who is stedfast and pure, loyal and temperate (Mand. I. 2, etc.; Sim. V. i. 5, etc.), while the reverse fate awaits the folly of impenitence (Sim. IX. xxxiii. 1).

The pseudo-Clementine discourse speaks, as we have already noticed, of the "rest" to which the obedient look forward in everlasting life (v. 5; vi. 7). But penitence and purity are essential to the obtaining of life, because no further opportunity on "the other side" is presupposed (viii. 1 ff.; cf. x. 1). And it is to be remembered that it is "this flesh" united with the Holy Spirit which receives the reward or gift of immortality (ix. 5; xiv. 5). For the latter is regarded as given to themselves by the repentant, although it is also said to be prepared for the chosen by God (xix. 1; xiv. 5). After present endurance, a sorrowless eternal life "with the fathers above" awaits the suffering Christian (xix. 3 f.). The writer also calls the Church, which he views in the Jewish manner as pre-existent and spiritual, "the Church of life," and to it he exhorts his hearers to belong (xiv. 1). This is the heavenly life which was manifested by "the Saviour and prince (ἀρχηγός) of immortality" (xx. 5).

Among those of our authors who refer to "life" less fully, we may remark that the Roman Clement places before his readers the thought of the wondrous future of "life in immortality," and the tasting of "the immortal knowledge" (xxxv. 2; xxxvi. 2), which is envisaged through the Psalmist's gate of righteousness (xlviii. 2). Otherwise his concerns are for the most part of present ecclesiastical and practical interest. Barnabas, as has been noticed above, looks forward to life in a terrestrial kingdom (vi. 17); and, when treating of the Cross and of Baptism, he shews that it is those who believe and hope on Jesus that "shall live for ever" (viii. 5; xi. 11). Yet a solemn warning is afforded of the danger lest the subtle entry of the devil should enable him to "fling us away from our life" (ii. 10). The Teaching, after the fashion of the Jewish manual which it utilised, mentions just "the way of life" (i. 1 f.; iv. 14), as opposed to that of death. Polycarp pleads for perseverance in

Christ our hope, who suffered that we might live in Him (viii. 1). And the tale of his testimony unto death relates his final prayer that he might share the Lord's cup "for resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and body, in incorruption of the Holy Spirit" (xiv. 2). Thus, the narrators wrote, he joined the noble ranks of those who "by a single hour bought up everlasting life" (ii. 3), and became "crowned with" or "gained the crown of incorruption" (xvii. 1; xix. 2). We naturally recall here the living garland, the crown of life, everlasting, of the Odes of Solomon; wherein also life, immortality and incorruption, in union with the Living One, the Saviour who makes alive, and through the baptismal water, are conceptions frequently occurring.

6. *Salvation.* Sometimes Salvation (or the cognate verb) is found to be used comprehensively to express the whole thought of the partaking in the Kingdom and the enjoyment of Life. Barnabas, for instance, rejoices in the "hope of being saved" (i. 3); but salvation demands care and effort on the part of the Christian (10; iv. 1; xvi. 1), and is itself ultimately dependent on the fact of the Incarnation (v. 10; cf. xvi. 10). Its fulfilment is associated with the time of the kingdom of Jesus (viii. 6), and that his readers may acquire it is the author's final desire (xxi. 9). To Ignatius the "Cross and Passion" of the Lord was for believers salvation and life, and such formed the object of His suffering (Eph. xviii. 1; Philad. v. 2; Smyrn. ii. 1; cf. perhaps Did. xvi. 5, "saved by the curse"). Passing across to Italy, we learn that Clement not only refers to the saving of men of old time, such as Noah and his companions (ix. 4) or the penitent people at Nineveh (vii. 7); but he applauds intercession for others' salvation (ii. 4), and active effort to prove of the character befitting those worthy to be included among the saved (xlv. 1; cf. xxxv. 4) through Christ, the High Priest, whose outpoured blood was the means to this blessed end

(vii. 4 ; xxxvi. 1 ; lviii. 2). Hermas, later on, makes use of the verb frequently in all parts of his work, and, as we might expect from the stress which he lays on repentance, the ethical aspect of Christian life and conduct is prominent with him (Vis. II. iii. 2 ; Mand. IV. iii. 7 ; VIII, vi. 1, and many other passages). Faith and fear are alike needful (Vis. III. viii. 3 ; Mand. VII. 1), but the case of hypocrites and apostates is virtually regarded as hopeless (Vis. III. vi. 1 ; Sim. IX. xxvi. 6). The hortatory nature of " 2 Clement " is evidenced by frequent allusions to salvation. The writer refers several times in the former half of his composition to the saving work of Christ (i. 1, etc.), whether viewed as past or future, and at the close terms Him " the Saviour " (xx. 5). Moreover, he brings out the intimate connexion between salvation and present repentance (viii. 1 ff.), by which Christians may be said to " gain " it, or " save themselves " (xiii. 1 ; xix. 1). But the faithful, once " perishing " themselves (ii. 7), have a corporate duty enjoined on them to turn the erring and perishing brethren, " that all may be saved," and thus the united strength of the community be increased (xv. 1 ; xvii. 1). The last aspect reappears in the Martyrdom of Polycarp, wherein the mark of true love is the desire not to save self only " but all the brethren " (i. 2), for whom in all the world Christ suffered (xvii. 2). In the mystic psalms of the baptized, too, the Odist is continually referring to God's " salvation " and man's experience thereof (i. 4 ; viii. 25 ; ix. 13, etc.).

Perhaps it is also well just to notice here two figurative expressions. The metaphor of the receipt of a Reward is employed to signify the life or salvation of the hopeful Christians, by Clement (vi. 2, of martyred women) ; in the Teaching (iv. 7, from God) ; by Ignatius (Philad. xi. 2, from Christ) ; by Hermas (Sim. II. 5, with God ; V. vi. 7, for this flesh) ; and so " 2 Clement " (ix. 5), who counsels patient

waiting for it (xi. 5; xx. 3; cf. also Barn. xxi. 1). Joy, too, is a mark of the blessed future, as contrasted with torment (2 Clem. x. 4) and condemnation (xv. 5); while in Hermas it is not only attributed to the Lord and the saints afterwards, but may be also a present possession of the faithful (Mand. X. iii. 1 ff., etc.; cf. Pol. Phil. i. 3).

Before we leave the brighter outlook, three conceptions relative to the saved require to receive a very brief consideration—their election, their place, and their state. (a) After the manner of Jewish apocalyptic, those who will enjoy this manifold blessedness are regarded as consisting of only the elect, the chosen, the called. And their number, known to God alone, has to be completed before the End. In the white world to come they will dwell, as we have seen from Hermas (Vis. IV. iii. 5); but he also terms the present Christians of the communities, who are saved through the spiritual endeavours of the various officers therein, "the elect of God" (III. v. 1), and they are saved by faith (viii. 3). This last usage appears as well in Ignatius, in the salutations to the local churches of Ephesus and Tralles; likewise Polycarp too calls the martyrs "truly chosen" (Phil. i. 1). The idea of election emerges frequently in Clement's epistle, the "number" being that of the enrolled or saved, as the terms in effect signify the same (ii. 4; xxxv. 4; lviii. 2; lix. 2). To the Divine mind, therefore, the choice is a past act, as believers realise (i. 1; xxix. 1; xxxii. 4; l. 7; lix. 3), and the example of heroes of old testifies (xlv. 7). In the present dispensation, the Holy Spirit is "the faith and hope of the elect" (lviii. 2), the choice of whom was "through the Lord Jesus Christ" (lxiv. 1). Such, prays the writer, may the Creator preserve wholly unharmed (lix. 2).

(*b*) A somewhat correlative conception is traceable in the expression "the appointed place" for the traveller on the way of light (Barn. xix. 1); with which we might compare

the " things prepared for his elect " in the future (2 Clem. xiv. 5). As regards a destined " place " at death, we find that, according to Clement, St. Peter went to " the glorious place " due to him (v. 4), as did St. Paul to " the holy place " (7). Similarly, Polycarp regards the apostles and martyrs as already " with the Lord " in the place due to them (Phil. ix. 2). And pseudo-Clement speaks of the place to which we are " called " or which is " appointed " to us (i. 2 ; xliv. 5). As Ignatius puts it, each man goes " to his own place " (Magn. v. 1). To the author or authors of the early " Solomonic " hymn-book, this place for the blessed baptized is Paradise, with its Oriental symbolism of fruits and delights. Thus in the general opinion of these writers the faithful are with God at once, although a waiting-time is implied before the End and the Kingdom. Such passages do not seem to lend any support to the theory of remedial purifying of the saints after death.

(*c*) When we inquire as to the condition of the blessed dead in the intermediate state which such references appear to suggest as preceding the eternal Kingdom, and which is comparable in some ways to, but not identical with, the theory of the millennial reign in the canonical Apocalypse, and that of Papias and others, the clearest answer that we receive is but an echo of our Lord's response to the Sadducees. Their life is *like* that of the angels. This is the view of Hermas, to whom the " passing " of the saints is " with the angels," whose companions they now are (Vis. II. ii. 7 ; Sim. IX. xxv. 2 ; xxvii. 3). The writer of the Martyrdom of Polycarp, however, goes further, and represents the biblically baseless yet still extraordinarily persistent conception of the transforming of the faithful at their decease *into* angels ; at least he says that the good things kept for the martyrs are shewn by the Lord to them as " no longer men but already angels " (ii. 3).

As we glance back over the material for estimating the outlook on the brighter side, we realize that we have not passed far beyond scriptural conceptions. There is little play of really lofty spiritual imagination. There is no revelation that impresses us as of permanent value. The yearning for the Parousia is but fitfully expressed; the expectation is already waning. We are aware of a great reaction from the first enthusiasm; and the change of view is testified by the fact that men are engaged in the evolving of an earthly organisation and ministry, and are more concerned with the practical and continuous business of Christian life. We feel that we have been living in a period of transition rather than creative thought. If on the one hand the old pictorial realism and Eastern symbolism are tending to become materially treated, on the other coming ecclesiasticism is casting its shadow before. In studying these literary remains we are conscious of being in the company of men who for the most part depend both for thought and expression on the great ones who have preceded them.

But we must not confine our attention to the bright aspect and the happy hopes of the faithful. In the concluding paragraphs let us inquire what the outlook of these writers was as regards the heathen and the backslider, the impenitent and the unbeliever. It is refreshing to return to the Apostolic Fathers after perusing the detailed and gruesome catalogues of woes and tortures such as the early Christian Apocalypses contain. These, however, we shall have to survey in a very summary manner, when we deal with them on a later occasion. For the relics of this literature whose expectations are now engaging our notice have, comparatively speaking, much less to say about the darker aspect for the ungodly and the reprobate. They preserve, that is, a scriptural restraint, and refrain from any gloating on the

one hand, and from minuteness of description on the other.

(i.) *Death.* In the spiritual sense of final loss, after the Johannine manner, "death" is commonly left undefined. We cannot, therefore, say for certain that any one of these authors taught either immediate extinction or ultimate annihilation after the advent of the Kingdom of God. Thus, in the opinion of Barnabas, "death" would have been our end, but for the mercy of God (x. 5; xiv. 5; xvi. 9), and the way of Evil (the Black One) is that of "death eternal with punishment" (xx. 1). Clement speaks of the quarrelsome life which leads to death (ix. 1)—a very salutary admonition for ecclesiastical partisans still. Ignatius notes that we may escape death by reliance upon Christ's (Trall. ii. 1); for it was part of the object of the Incarnation to abolish it (Eph. xix. 3). Otherwise, the references to spiritual or aeonian death in these writings are almost wholly confined to the Shepherd, a work which is itself apocalyptic in form. Therein Hermas, in passages chiefly from the later Similitudes, shews how those overcome by evil desires are brought to death (Sim. VI. ii. 1 ff.), and perish finally (Mand. XII. ii. 2 f.), or work death for themselves (Vis. II. iii. 1; Mand. IV. i. 2; Sim. X. iii. 4; iv. 3). Death means eternal destruction, which implies more than corruption, and is incurred by the wholly impenitent of various types (Sim. IX. xix. 1 f.; xxiii. 5, etc.). Such "lose their life" (VIII. viii. 2 f.), "die the death" (vii. 3), "perish finally to God" (vi. 4 ff.), instead of living to Him. While he appears to regard death as a punishment beyond this life for the corrupt (IX. xxxii. 4), our author seems also to assume some differentiation in this deadly punishment. For while those ignorant of God suffer death, those who know His revelation "shall be doubly punished and shall die for ever," and in such wise the Church will be purged (xviii. 1 f.). Further, his teaching implies degrees or grades of strictly

" intermediate " punishment. For in the Visions (III. vii. 6) the penitent, once rejected, have a position of less honour in the edifice of the Tower after they have been removed from torment, having " fulfilled the days of their sins " ; but without repentance they have of course no salvation. Again, *years* of punishment are reckoned to correspond with *days* of sin (Sim. VI. v. 3 ff.) ; and the thought of deliverance " into prison " as a warning for deniers of the Lord might also be held to suggest some temporary significance (IX. xxviii. 7 ; cf. " death and captivity " Vis. I. i. 8), like the " paying of the penalty " by hypocritical recipients of the gifts of God (Mand. II. 5 ; cf. Did. i. 5). In the Odes of Solomon, on the contrary, there is, as with St. John, no real death for those united with the Lord (v. 11), for in His land is " deathless life " (xv. 10) ; and into this mystic atmosphere of life and liberty, love and rest, no thought of a dreadful future for evil men, of their torture or their punishment, finds entrance.

The last allusion reminds us of an opinion as to the Underworld, Sheol or Hades, which Hermas at any rate entertained. He held that the early apostles and teachers, represented by the forty stones from the deep, preached and baptized among the dead. Whether this was like Enoch or (according to the transmitted text of 1 Peter iii. 19) Christ, or instead of the Lord Himself, does not clearly appear (Sim. IX. xvi. 5). But that curious doctrine, closely associated with his stringent views about Baptism and the opportunity of a further repentance, does not add to our information with regard to his eschatology. We may compare the teaching of the last of the Odes (xlii. 15 ff.), where Christ seals His name on the heads of the redeemed dead.

(ii.) *Punishment.* It was, as Clement shews us, the deniers and apostates, the insincere and unworthy members of the communities, whom the primitive Christians felt

assured that God would "deliver to punishment and torture" (xi. 1). So, according to the Martyrdom, the betrayers of Polycarp's hiding-place are to suffer the same punishment as Judas of old (vi. 2). The later discourse traditionally attributed to the Roman bishop speaks of the righteous, tortured here, as praising God in gratitude when they behold the ungodly and the deniers of Jesus "punished with terrible torture in unquenchable fire (xvii. 7)—a familiar apocalyptic trait; and concerning those "who have not kept the seal of baptism" (vii. 6) he quotes the closing verses of the book of Isaiah. So also the likewise canonical notion of a fettered spirit appears in his homily (xx. 4); while previously the preacher had contrasted "eternal punishment" with the repose of the Kingdom which awaited the obedient (vi. 7; cf. Hermas, *supra*). Similarly, in the record of Polycarp's martyrdom worldly tortures are contrasted with the everlasting fire and everlasting punishment (ii. 3; xi. 2).

(iii.) *Fire.* Thus we are naturally led to think of the place of Fire in our authors' conceptions of the darker future. Although the allusions are few compared with the terrible emphasis in more definitely apocalyptic writings, we have just been enabled to see that it would be difficult to disengage the idea of fire, whether realistic or symbolic, from that of torture and punishment. The eschatological section in the Didaché warns against "the fiery trial" of the last days preceding the Advent (xvi. 5); while Ignatius does not scruple to consign a false teacher and his perverts to "the unquenchable fire" (Eph. xvi. 2). Hermas anticipates that the present world, the old creation, will, as in biblical tradition, be "destroyed by blood and fire" (Vis. IV. iii. 3), and that the heathen and sinners will be burnt up (Sim. IV. 4). Pseudo-Clement also, whom we have but lately quoted, incorporates an uncanonical echo of the Matthean "saying"

(x. 28) touching the fear of God "who has power over body and soul" after death, "to cast into the Gehenna of fire" (v. 4; cf. Hermas, Mand. XII, vi. 3, "destroy").

(iv.) *New Creation.* The doctrine of the destruction of the old creation, and the establishment of a new world, in connexion with the time of the End, one to which Hermas bore witness just above, emerges more than once in the Apostolic Fathers. Barnabas refers to the "second creation" in the last days, applying the Lord's proverbial dictum of the first being last (Matt. xix. 30) to the parallelling of the *Ur-zeit* with the *End-zeit* (vi. 13), the "holy age" (x. 11), when "all things will have been made new by the Lord" (xv. 7). Then will come the "true rest" for Christians in the beginning of the eighth (cosmic) day, the beginning of another world (8). So in the Teaching the Parousia is associated with the passing away of this world (x. 6). To Hermas is vouchsafed the revelation that like as God foreordained and blessed the Church, so also He will "change the heavens" and the earth, and then will "all things become smooth for His elect" (Vis. I. iii. 4) in the "summer" of the coming age (Sim. IV. 2). Similarly, according to the Clementine sermon, in the approaching Judgment day the heavens and the earth will alike melt in fire, and the secrets of men be revealed (xvi. 3).

(v.) *The End.* With regard to these "last days" or "times," or "the end of time," we find that Barnabas lays stress on the strong resistance against evil that is necessary in such a period (iv. 3); and the Teaching echoes the "little apocalypse" in the Gospels with its warning of false prophets and corrupters who are to come, and expects also an epiphany of the Deceiver as a Son of God (xvi. 3 f.). Ignatius, on his way to Rome, is conscious that he is living in "the last times," and therefore urges a devout and loving life (Eph. xi.), for he reckons the appearing of Christ as falling within

the period of "the end" (Magn. vi. 1; cf. probably 2 Clem. xiv. 2). Hermas, too, looks onward sometimes to "the last day," until which for the heathen repentance is availing (Vis. II. ii. 5); sometimes to "the end," when the Tower is completed (III. viii. 9), or to "the consummation," in whose last days the Lord was manifested (Sim. IX. xii. 3) so that its ultimate fulfilment is regarded as rapidly approaching.

EDWARD WILLIAM WINSTANLEY.

SOME NEW TESTAMENT NOTES.

LUKE xvi. 9, "Make to yourselves friends *by means of* the mammon of unrighteousness, that when it shall fail, they may receive you into the eternal habitations," R.V. (M. *out of*). The R.V. adopts the reading of the more important MSS., ἐκλίπῃ instead of ἐκλίπητε, but unnecessarily makes mammon the subject. I submit that the subject is understood, and is ἡ ζωή (life). Cf. Ps. Sol. iii. 16: 'Their life (ζωή) shall not fail (ἐκλείψει) in the light of the Lord." Cf. Tennyson, "No life shall fail beyond the grave." Ἐκλείπειν is frequently used of dying in classical Greek See οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, the dead, Plato, *Legg.* 856, E. The subject might easily be dropped with a word of such well known significance. Our Lord can hardly be urging His disciples to make a wise use of their money, seeing they had so little, or to follow the example of the "steward of unrighteousness" in a literal manner, but rather to make as wise a use of the true or genuine riches as the steward made of the unrighteous sort. ἐκ is, therefore, not instrumental. It is the Hebrew *min* in such phrases as "I will give thee a son out of her (*mimmenah*, LXX. ἐξ αὐτῆς), Genesis xvii. 16. Mammon is personified in v. 13 as a master, and may stand for the kingdom of this world of evil, as the antithesis of the kingdom of

God. It was an ordinary expression in our Lord's day occurring in the Targums, e.g. in that on Habakkuk ii. 9, "the mammon of evil" (*resha'*), cf. mammon of unrighteousness; and on Hosea v. 11, mammon of deceit (*sheḳer*), cf. ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου Matthew xiii. 22. The order seems then to be this, "Make friends of the worldly people about you, the servants of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when life fails, they may receive you into everlasting habitations." The Christian is to win friends from the service of the world, so that when he dies, he may have those who will receive him or meet him with joy on his entry into the next world. This may be an anticipation of the completer order—"make disciples (μαθητεύσατε) of all nations, Matthew xxviii. 19. In contrast with such a situation stands that of the rich man in the following parable, who had neglected his opportunities and, when his life failed, there was no one to receive him with joy into the everlasting habitations which Lazarus enjoyed. The deductions from the accounts would hardly have satisfied the master, unless they were the steward's own percentage on his collections. If so, his one act of generosity may have atoned for many acts of oppression.

Matthew xvi. 19, "The gates of Hades shall not prevail against it" (κατισχύσουσιν αὐτῆς), I shall give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven." The expression "the gates of Hell shall not prevail against" the Church of Christ seems very peculiar. An idea might be taken from the LXX, which confused the very similar word *sha'arim* (gates) with *sarim* (princes) in Psalm xxiv. 7, reading οἱ ἄρχοντες, followed by Irenaeus in his *Apostolic Preaching*, c. 84. But the "Gates of Sheol" is a well-known collocation. We are not forced to conjecture *sha'arim* (gates), *sarim* (princes), or *sa'arim* (storms). In Homer Ἅϊδαο πύλαι stands for death or the nether world, e.g. "Hateful to me as the gates of Hades is he, etc." In classical mythology Hades is repre-

sented with a key. (Smith's Class. Dict.) In Isaiah xxxviii. 10, "I shall enter the gates of Sheol" (Heb. and LXX). See also Ps. Sol. xvi. 2, and Wisd. xvi. 13. "Thou hast power over life and death; thou leadest down to the gates of Hades and leadest up." In Job xvii. 16 the Hebrew has "bars of Sheol"; in Psalm ix. 14 "gates of death," also in Job xxxviii. 17. This expression is not patient, therefore, of change. But what of the verb *κατισχύσουσιν*? In Wisd. vii. 30, *σοφίας δὲ οὐκ κατισχύει κακία* (ℵ A), evil prevails not against wisdom, may seem a parallel. But could "gates" be said to prevail against anything? Is it not rather things that are said to prevail against gates? The point here seems to be this, that It (the Church) will prevail against the gates of Hades. The emendation *κατίσχουσιν αὐτήν* gives this required sense. *Κατίσχω* collat. form of *κατέχω* is frequently used in sense of restrain, e.g. Il. 23, 321, *οὐδὲ κατίσχει*. Death cannot restrain the Church of Christ, which will occupy its realm because her Lord hath the keys of death and Hades (Rev. i. 18). These keys are intrusted to no other. "I *have* the keys of death and Hades." A copyist might easily confuse the words, especially if unfamiliar with the form *κατίσχω*.

Matthew xii. 35, "The good man out of the good treasure brings forth (*ἐκβάλλει*) good things; the evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth (*ἐκβάλλει*) evil things." What is the exact force of *ἐκβάλλει*? The preceding words *γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν*, spawn of vipers, throw light on the metaphor, which is taken from maternity. For *ἐκβάλλειν* in sense of give birth to, see Liddell & Scott's reference to Hippocrates. A kindred idea is the use of *ἐκβάλλω* in Matthew xv. 18. The spawn of evil are evil themselves and the outcome of their evil thoughts, their words, must, therefore, be evil. With this metaphorical use of *ἐκβάλλειν* compare Socrates' description of his art of extracting what was in

the mind of his companions, as ἡ μαιευτικὴ (midwifery). Mr. W. C. Allen, in his Commentary, and Dr. Grimm, in his Lexicon, have not noticed the point, which seems material.

1 Timothy vi. 19, "laying up for themselves a good foundation" (θεμέλιον καλόν). This seems harsh. It would appear that θεμέλιος, an ordinary word correctly used in 2 Timothy ii. 19, "the foundation of God standeth sure" (στερεός), was early substituted for another word, a rare word like θέμα, a deposit. The copyist might easily confuse θεμακαλον with θεμέλιον, and observing the καλόν as he finished the word, would have added it. This would explain the origin of the reading θεμέλιον καλόν. Θέμα would be an ἅπ. λεγ. in the New Testament. We find it, however, in Tobit iv. 9 with θησαυρίζω as here with ἀποθησαυρίζω. Θέμα γὰρ ἀγαθὸν θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ εἰς ἡμέραν ἀνάγκης. The passage before us, reading θέμα, presents a perfect parallel, ἀποθησαυρίζοντας ἑαυτοῖς θέμα καλὸν εἰς τὸ μέλλον. Can this have been undesigned? The passage in 1 Timothy proceeds, "that they may lay hold on ETERNAL LIFE." Ignatius (*Epist. ad Polycarp.* ii.) has the expression "the prize (θέμα) of immortality is *eternal life*" (ζωὴ αἰώνιος). There "eternal life" is in apposition to θέμα, as in the passage before us. Is this also undesigned? Should θέμα be read here, it would mean man's deposit with God. It is immediately followed by the words, "Timothy, guard the deposit (παραθήκην)," i.e. God's deposit with thee. The same order is found in 2 Timothy i. 12, 13, where the two "deposits" (παραθήκαι) are mentioned. "He is able to guard my deposit against (εἰς) that day." "Guard through the Holy Ghost the good (καλήν) deposit." καλός would be a more appropriate epithet of a παραθήκη from God than of a θεμέλιος or foundation which man stored up with God, assuming for the moment that storing up, and not laying, is the correct expression with foundation-stones.

Titus i. 15, "To the pure all things are pure," R.V., A.V. (*πάντα καθαρὰ καθαροῖς*). This can hardly be right. It interrupts the writer's argument with a new thought. The point that he is urging is, that the false teachers of whom he is writing were not pure in mind, and therefore could not be sound in the faith, for such impure ones have no part or lot in that which is pure. See further 1 Timothy i. 5. "The end of the charge is love out of a pure heart (*ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας*), and a good conscience and faith unfeigned, from which things some having swerved, have turned aside unto vain talking" (*ματαιολογίαν*). Now the people in Titus i. 10 are described as *ματαιολόγοι* vain talkers, who have swerved from love out of a *pure* heart, etc. The reference here is not to clean beasts as in *πάντα καθαρά* Romans xiv. 20, where the discussion turns on the difference between *τὰ κοινά* and *τὰ καθαρά*, St. Paul saying that nothing is *κοινόν* or common in itself, but all things are clean. There is a parallel in Luke xi. 41, which R.V. renders "Give for alms those things which are within (*τὰ ἔνοντα*), and behold all things are clean unto you." Our Lord seems here to be urging His people to "give alms of what you have, or what is within, i.e., love, justice, faith (see v. 42, 'ye pass over judgment and the love of God'), and then all pure things are yours" (*πάντα καθαρὰ ὑμῖν*). The possessor with *εἰμί* and similar verbs is often in dative, e.g., Chronicles xx. 15, LXX., *οὐχ ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἡ παράταξις ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ θεῷ*. "The battle is not yours but God's." Our Lord used *καθαρός* rather in an ethical than in a ceremonial sense. He referred to one of His disciples who was ceremonially clean in John xiii. 10 as not *καθαρός*. "Ye are clean (*καθαροί*), but not all." Our Lord did not worry about ceremonial cleanness; but He was concerned with moral and spiritual purity. "Now ye are clean (*καθαροί*) because of the word which I have spoken unto you" (John xv. 3). His greatest blessing was upon "the pure (*καθαροί*)

in heart." "To the pure all things are pure," if it means anything must mean, to the morally pure all things are ceremonially pure. But there is no indication that *καθαροί* is to be taken in two senses in this expression; and it certainly cannot mean that all things are morally clean to the morally clean, as that would mean the end of all morality; and there would be no sense in saying that all things are ceremonially clean to the ceremonially clean. The *καθαροί* are expressly distinguished in the text from the "defiled and unbelieving to whom nothing is pure," that is, who have nothing pure, for both their mind and conscience are defiled. The sense of the passage seems to be this, "to the pure belong all that is pure," or, all pure things are for the pure. This is a similar thought to that of the *Phaedo* 67 B, "I fear it is not lawful for the impure to reach that which is pure" (*μὴ καθαρῷ γὰρ καθαροῦ ἐφάπτεσθαι*). Our Lord's saying, "All pure things are yours," may be paralleled by His own saying: "Happy are ye poor because yours is the Kingdom of God" (Luke vi. 20), and by St. Paul's: "all things are yours . . . all things are yours" (1 Corinthians iii. 23). The acted parable of the cleansing of the temple is full of suggestiveness in this connexion; and so are the mysterious words: "cleanse first the inside of the cup and platter that the outside may become clean also" (Matt. xxiii. 26), which refer to something of vaster importance than cups and platters.

Certain of St. Paul's metaphors and expressions seem taken from the chariot race rather than the foot race. The word *δρόμος*, course, is used by St. Paul in his speeches in Acts xiii. 25, and xx. 24, "When John was fulfilling his *course*," "to finish my *course*," and in 2 Timothy iv. 7, "I have finished the *course*." This word is used eight times in one descriptive passage of a horse race in the *Electra* (Soph.) 680–762: e.g., "finishing the sixth and

seventh lap" (δρόμον). It is also used in Iliad 23, 373, of a chariot race: "they were finishing the last lap" (δρόμον). Another word (εἴσοδος), only used in the Pauline epistles, 1 Thessalonians i. 9, ii. 1, and Acts xiii. 24 (St. Paul's speech), is the technical expression of the entrance of the chorus into the orchestra and of competitors into the lists. St. Paul used it of the entrance of our Lord upon the scene of his life work and of his own entry upon his mission. Acts xiii. 24, "When John had *proclaimed as a herald* (προκηρύξαντος) before His coming (εἰσόδου, lit. 'before the face of His entering in') the baptism of repentance," recalls the passage in the *Electra* (670) which describes the entry of Orestes, "What time he heard the shrill trumpet of him *who proclaimed as herald* (προκηρύξαντος) the first race to be run, he entered (εἰσῆλθε) the lists." The rendering "When John had first preached" (A.V., R.V.) obscures the metaphor of St. Paul, in which John acts as a herald as well as a preacher. 1 Thessalonians i. 9, "They themselves report of us what manner of entering (εἴσοδον) we had unto you"; and ii. 1, "Yourselves know our entrance (εἴσοδον) in unto you was in much conflict" (ἀγῶνι) show that St. Paul used the word in its technical sense of entrance to an *agôn* or contest. Pindar (*Pyth.* 7. 30) used εἴσοδοι ἵππιαι of entries of horses in a race.

St. Paul (Phil. iv. 3) addressed one of his friends as, "true yokefellow" (σύνζυγε). This word is ἅπ. λεγ. Its use recalls the words of Agamemnon (832), "ζευχθεὶς ἕτοιμος ἦν ἐμοὶ σειραφόρος, harnessed with me he proved mine own right horse. Plato (*Phaedrus* 254 A) used this word σύζυξ of one of a team of horses. 2 Corinthians vi. 14, "Be not unequally yoked (ἑτεροζυγοῦντες ἁ.λ.) with unbelievers, for what share (μετοχή) hath righteousness in lawlessness? Or what communion hath light with darkness?" would be an excellent summary of Plato's description of the unequally

matched team in his chariot myth, in which the Greek writer pictures the soul as a charioteer driving a badly matched pair of steeds, one of a higher strain (representing the will), the other of a lower breed (representing the passions), the latter sharing (*μετέχων*) in badness and acting in opposition to his partner (*τῷ σύζυγι*), and dragging down the chariot with his weight in the aerial course after the gods. The recalcitrant horse in the myth might be said, like St. Paul, to "kick against the goads" (*πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν*), an expression not exclusively used of oxen, the writer describing him as disregarding the driver's goads (*κέντρα*).[1] The whole struggle of St. Paul with his lower nature, his *ἐπιθυμίαι*, and his severe disciplining of his body (*ὑπωπιάζω καὶ δουλαγωγῶ*, 1 Cor. ix. 27) recalls the struggle of the driver with the rebellious steed which he gave "to pains" and which represents the passions, *τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν* of the *Republic* 439–443, and its stern punishment at the hands of the charioteer, who used not only a whip but also goads in the *Phaedrus* (253, E), and even then hardly compelled it to obey. St. Paul's words in Philippians i. 27, *μιᾷ ψυχῇ συναθλοῦντες τῇ πίστει*, toiling together, like two well matched steeds, harmoniously in or with the faith, conjure up a different picture. It is quite possible that he was thinking of a team of horses, as his next expression is *μὴ πτυρομένοι ἐν μηδένι*, not *startled* like a frightened horse. *πτ.* is used of horses, e.g. Plutarch *Mor.* p. 800, *πτ. ὥσπερ θηρίον*. Another expression, Philippians iii. 14 f., "forgetting the things that are *behind* (*ὀπίσω*), and straining after (*ἐπεκτεινόμενος*) the things that are in *front* (*ἔμπροσθεν*), I drive with my eye on the mark (*διώκω κατὰ σκόπον*)," also suggests a chariot race, although it may include other races. The

[1] *Iliad* 23, 430, Antilochus drives with a goad (*κέντρον*); and in *Oed. Tyr.* 809, the charioteer struck Œdipus with a double goad (*κέντροις*).

very same idea of not looking back is expressed in Horace, *Serm.* i. 114 :—

> Ut cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,
> Instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum
> Praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.

When once the chariot from the line is whirled, the driver follows hard upon the steeds in front, but thinks not of him he has already passed and left behind. Lightfoot observed on ἐπεκτεινόμενος (*superextensus*) that "the metaphor may possibly be derived from the chariot races in the circus, as the Epistle was written from Rome." The Virgilian expression of the charioteers, *proni* dant lora (*Georg.* iii. 106), leaning forward, and Nestor's advice to his son who had entered for a chariot race, to lean forward (κλινθῆναι), *Iliad* 23, 335, illustrate the meaning of ἐπ. Lightfoot observes, "To this view διώκω lends some support, for it is frequently said of charioteers." διώκω κατὰ σκόπον, I drive with my eye on the mark, recalls the advice of Nestor to his son, *Il.* 23, 323, always keeping the goal (or turning) in his eye" (ἀεὶ τέρμ' ὁρόων). The passage might also be illustrated by a passage in Plato, *Gorgias* 507 D, "This is the mark (σκόπος) with reference to which (πρὸς ὃν βλέποντα) one must live and concentrate (συντείνοντα) all one's energies."

The upward calling (ἡ ἄνω κλῆσις) may be illustrated by the *Phaedrus* (249), where the charioteer drives the car in his upward course, always looking up (βλέπων ἄνω) but oblivious of the things beneath (τῶν κάτω δὲ ἀμελῶν).

F. R. Hitchcock.

(*To be continued.*)

ESCHATOLOGY IN THE LORD'S PRAYER.

i. The Kingdom.

The term Eschatology needs to be defined according to the point of view of different apocalyptists; for there is eschatology within eschatology. To some the establishment of God's Kingdom was looked for on this earth before the end of the world, a Millennium preceding the final Judgment. By others a judgment, the vindication of the righteous and punishment of the wicked, and the dissolution of the existing universe, were expected to precede the inauguration of the Kingdom. The former is the view which had already been popularised in the *Book of Enoch*, and which is prevalent in the New Testament, and which was commonly held in the early Church. Traces of it can be detected in 1 Corinthians xv. 23, 24, and it is more fully developed in Revelation xx. 2–4.

The idea of this Coming Kingdom—the Kingdom of God or of Heaven—summed up Israel's expectation for a future more or less at hand, and that is the key to the very abrupt and unexplained use of the phrase by the Baptist and by our Lord.

The Kingdom of God is not a very favourite expression in the Old Testament, and when the apocalyptists speak of it, it is viewed as the establishment of the universal Dominion of God and the reign of Righteousness and Peace.

We find it in the Psalms: "The Kingdom is Yahweh's, and He is the Ruler over the nations" (xxii. 28): "Yahweh hath established His throne in the heavens, and His Kingdom ruleth over all" (ciii. 19). But we feel at once that these words do not awake in our minds the same ideas as the "Kingdom of God" evokes in the New Testament. In truth

the translation "Kingdom of God" or "Kingdom of Heaven" is not a happy one, nor does it quite accurately represent the meaning of the Hebrew words *Malkuth YHVH* or *Malkuth shamayim*. The true idea is that of kingly sway, rule, sovranty; not that of a localised territorial kingdom. The Kingdom of God is neither regional nor institutional nor ecclesiastical. "It cometh not with observation" but "is within you," said Christ; and it had come upon the Jews before they were aware of it (Luke xvii. 20; xi. 20). The Gospel of the Kingdom is the good news about this Divine rule: the Children of the Kingdom are those who accept it. The characteristics of the Kingdom are depicted in several parables—its vicissitudes of reception and rejection, its multiform activities, its secret persistent penetration, its ultimate universality. Its "Coming" is that for which the apostles were taught to pray. And Christ meant by that prayer the full establishment of the spiritual sovranty of God both in this life on earth and hereafter. With what strength unspiritual and restricted views of the Kingdom persisted in spite of all Christ's teaching about it, is seen from the question put to our Lord by the apostles even after His resurrection: "Lord, wilt Thou at this time restore the Kingdom to Israel?" (Acts iv. 6). They were still thinking of some visible monarchy or theocracy such as the apocalyptists had looked for. And it was no doubt the like incorrect views of the populace about the Messiah —views which had become very closely associated with warlike home-rule nationalist methods—that led our Lord to forbid his apostles to proclaim His Messiahship (Mark viii. 30) and also to bind the dæmons to silence on the same point (Luke iv. 41). We can see that such proclamation would have led to utterly false expectations. Probably the Baptist's question "Art Thou the Coming One, or do we look for another?" was due to the same mistaken

notion as to what the Messiah ought to do to set up His Kingdom. It seems then that the "Coming Kingdom" was, in the mind of the Jews, distinctly an eschatological conception, but it was rescued and reclaimed by our Lord and invested with a new meaning. His Kingdom is not of this world, but it is to begin *in* this world, and its "Coming" is not an event but an age-long process.

ii. The Banquet.

The idea of the Messianic Banquet as at once the seal and the symbol of the new era was a common feature in apocalyptic writings and an extremely popular subject of discussion, thought, and expectation. It peeps out again and again in the New Testament. We recall the guest's remark (Luke xiv. 15), "Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the Kingdom of God," and our Lord's sayings, "They shall sit down (*i.e.* recline at this Banquet) with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" (Matt. viii. 11); "I appoint unto you a kingdom . . . that ye may eat and drink at My table in My Kingdom" (Luke xxii. 29); "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in My Father's Kingdom" (Matt. xxvi. 29). The request of Salome for James and John was that her sons might occupy the places of honour in the centre couch on each side of Jesus at His Banquet. Similarly the reward of the faithful servant who had used his talents well, was to be welcomed as a guest at this feast; for in the phrase "Enter thou into the *joy* of thy Lord," the equivalent Aramaic word for "joy," *simchah*, is the term for joy at a banquet. From the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (xxix. 8) we learn that the food at this Banquet would be the Manna which would again descend from heaven. There is a reference to this in the Sibylline Oracles (vii. 148 f.):

Vine twigs there shall not be nor ear of corn, but all together
The manna fresh with white teeth shall eat.

Doubtless this is referred to in the promise of the gift of "the hidden manna" to the faithful in the Church of Pergamum (Rev. ii. 17). Now it is at least possible that *τὸν ἄρτον τὸν ἐπιούσιον* in the Lord's Prayer may include a reference to this heavenly bread or manna of the Coming Banquet. If so, Christ taught His disciples to pray for the Banquet as they prayed for the Kingdom. Further, if Christian thought is correct in interpreting this "daily bread" mystically of the Heavenly Food of the Eucharist, it explains the allusions to the manna and the bread from heaven in the discourse in John vi. after the feeding of the five thousand. "Moses gave you not the bread out of heaven, but My Father giveth you the True Bread out of heaven. . . . I am the Bread of life. . . . The Bread which I will give is My Flesh."

This thought of the Heavenly Banquet lingers to-day in quite unrealised places. I suspect that familiarity with the words has dulled their point in the grace that children sing,

> These creatures bless and grant that we
> May feast in Paradise with Thee;

or

> May manna to our souls be given,
> The Bread of Life sent down from heaven.

iii. The Trial.

The Coming of the Kingdom was to be preceded by a time of trial comparable to birthpangs. We learn from the *Book of Jubilees* (23) that the "Woes of the Messiah" (*Chebhley hammashiyeh*) would take the form of famines, earthquakes, and wars. This common expectation found expression in Daniel xii. 1: "There shall be a time of trouble

such as never was since there was a nation" ; words which our Lord Himself used in depicting the *ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων*, "the beginning of travail" (Matt. xxiv. 8). The outstanding feature of this impending catastrophe was that it would be a *πειρασμός*, a trial of faith ; and this was assuredly in St. Paul's mind when, in writing to Corinth (1 Cor. vii. 26 ff.), he warned the unmarried to remain free from the responsibilities of marriage *διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀναγκήν*—using the very word *ἀναγκή*, distress, that Christ had used in His warnings to those who should happen to be mothers in that time of crisis (Matt. xxiv. 19). The same thought of the *πειρασμός* is probably in view in such passages as James i. 12, "Blessed is the man that endureth trial" ; "Count it all joy when ye fall into manifold trials, knowing that the proof of your faith worketh patience" ; 2 Peter ii. 9, "The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of trial." It is obviously not temptations to moral evil that are meant, but trials of faith, which must precede the Coming of the Kingdom, and which witness to its speedy inauguration, and are therefore matter of thankfulness and welcome. Light is hereby thrown upon the promise to the Church of Philadelphia (Rev. iii. 10), "I will keep thee from the hour of trial, that hour that is to come upon the whole world, to try them that dwell upon the earth."

Connected with this fiery trial of faith is a Spirit of apostasy and hostility to God, the *πονήρος*, the Evil One, who is viewed under various aspects and guises, but whose business it is to test the faith of the elect. "False Christs and false prophets shall arise, and shall shew great signs and wonders, so as to lead astray if possible even the elect" (Matt. xxiv. 24). To St. Paul that spirit appeared as "the man of lawlessness" (2 Thess. ii. 3–12) ; to St. John as "many antichrists, whereby ye know that it is the last hour" (1 John ii. 18). The same idea occurred or was repeated in the

Sibylline Oracles iii. 64–71 : "Now shall Beliar return, and he shall move the high mountains, still the sea, make the great blazing sun and the bright moon stand still, shall raise the dead, and do many signs among men. . . . He leads many astray, and shall deceive many faithful and elect of the Hebrews, and lawless men besides who have never yet hearkened to God's word."

May we not here again find in the Lord's Prayer a reference to this anticipation of times of trial ? "Bring us not into the trial, but deliver us from the Evil One."

T. Herbert Bindley.

THE USE OF 'ΤΠΕΡ IN BUSINESS DOCUMENTS IN THE PAPYRI.

To-day I was at work in volumes xi. and xii. of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri for another purpose, when I was struck with the recurrent use of *ὑπέρ* at the close of business documents where the writing was done for a man who was too ignorant to write himself. A couple of instances from the papyri are cited in my *Historical Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (p. 631), and Moulton (*Prolegomena*, p. 105) alludes to the idiom. Deissmann (*Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 152 f.) notes the frequent use in the ostraca, even in one from Thebes (*ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ*) where *ὑπέρ* has the sense of "for," and adds that "it is not without bearing on the question of *ὑπέρ* in the New Testament." I wrote the sentence (p. 631): "In the papyri and the ostraca, *ὑπέρ* often bore the sense of "instead of." This judgment has been confirmed afresh by to-day's reading in the papyri.

Once quite an argument was made against the substitutionary theory of the atonement on the ground that Paul in the great passages (cf. 2 Cor. v. and Rom. v.) employs *ὑπέρ* rather than *ἀντί*. In this criticism it was admitted that in Matthew xx. 28 and Mark x. 45 (*λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν*) substitution is clearly taught. But it was argued that Paul's careful preference for *ὑπέρ* proved that he did not conceive of Christ's death as vicarious. This antithesis between *ἀντί* and *ὑπέρ* was imaginary as a matter of fact. Neither word in itself means substitution. It is a secondary idea in each instance. *Ἀντί* literally means "at the end

of" and so suggests contrast, succession, substitution, opposition, as the case may be. Ὑπέρ means literally "over" and the context alone can decide the resultant meaning which may be "concerning," "beyond," "in behalf of," "instead of." The ancient Greek writers employed ἀντί, πρό, or ὑπέρ for substitution as they wished. In the *Alcestis* of Euripides, where the substitutionary death of Alcestis for her husband is the point of the story, we find ὑπέρ seven times, while ἀντί and πρό together have fewer uses. The substitutionary use of ὑπέρ appears in Thucydides I. 141, Xenophon's *Anabasis* 7. 4, 9, and in Plato's *Gorgias* (515 C). In the Epistle to Diognetus (p. 84) we actually see λύτρον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν). So then it was never fair to say that the Greek idiom required ἀντί for the idea of substitution. One followed his whims in the matter. For instance, Pausanias (Rüger, *Die Präpositionen bei Pausanias*, p. 12) employed ὑπέρ twice as often as ἀντί. Moulton (*Prolegomena*, p. 105) remarks that ὑπέρ is "more colourless" as compared with ἀντί.

But the papyri, particularly the business documents, show that Paul is following current usage when he prefers ὑπέρ for the idea of substitution. The instances in the papyri are far too numerous to quote, but enough are here given from a few volumes of the Oxyrhynchus and the Tebtunis Papyri, which I happened to be reading to-day, to prove the point up to the hilt. Certainly in all these instances the writing is done on behalf of one, but one cannot stop there. Winer (Winer-Thayer, p. 382) rightly says: "In most cases one who acts in behalf of another takes his place." This is absolutely true in the case of this recurrent idiom so common in the papyri, where a scribe writes a document in behalf of and instead of one who does not know letters. The scribe writes "for" one who is not able to write.

In a contract for a loan, Oxyrhynchus Papyri 1281, lines 11, 12 (A.D. 21) the scribe appends his name thus: *Ἡράκλειος Ὥρου ἔγρα[ψα] ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἰδότος γράμματα.* This solemn asseveration makes the loan binding on the illiterate party to the contract. There is not the slightest doubt about the meaning of *ὑπέρ* in this sentence. The phraseology becomes almost a set formula in such documents.

We find it twice in a declaration of temple lamplighters, Oxyrhynchus Papyri 1453, lines 33, 34 (B.C. 30–29); *Θ]ῶνις Ἁρπ[α]ήσι(ο)ς γέγρα[φα ὑπὲρ] αὐτοῦ ἀξιωθεὶς διὰ τὸ [μὴ εἰδ]έναι αὐτὸν γράμμα[τ]α.*

Ibid., lines 36, 37, *Ὥρος Τοτοεῦτ[ος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ α]ὐτοῦ ἀξιωθεὶς δ[ιὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐ]τὸν γράμματα.*

That the lacunae here have been properly filled in the other instances of the idiom make plain.

Take this instance in a sub-lease of crown-land, Tebtunis Papyri 373, line 23 (A.D. 110–1) second hand: *[γέ]γραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φάσ[κοντος] μὴ εἰδέναι γράμματα.* There the formula varies a bit in the use of *φάσκοντος* (alleging).

The next instance occurs in the resignation of claims to an estate, Tebtunis Papyri 380, lines 43, 44 (A.D. 67): *ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ [α]ὐτῶν Λυσᾶς Διδύ[μου] διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδ[έ]νε αὐτοὺς γράμματα.* One cannot break the force of these examples by saying that they all reflect the same set idiom. The point is rather strengthened than otherwise. The set idiom for substitution employs *ὑπέρ* rather than *ἀντί*.

There is a case of division of property, Tebtunis Papyri 833, lines 57, 58 (A.D. 46) second hand: *ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Μαρεψῆμις διὰ τὸ μὴ ε[ἰδέναι γράμ(ματα).*

The examples cover a great variety of cases. There is an apprenticeship to a weaver, Tebtunis Papyri 385, lines 28, 29 (A.D. 117) second hand: *ἔγραψ]εν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Μαρεψῆμις . . [. . . . γράμματα μὴ] εἰδ(ότος).*

The next belongs to a marriage contract, Tebtunis Papyri 386, lines 25–28 (B.C. 12): *ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἱππ[ίας Ἰ]ππ[ίου] ἀξιω[θε]ὶς διὰ τὸ φάσκιν [α]ὐτὸν μὴ ἐπί[στασθαι γ]ρ(ά)μματα.*

Surely one more instance will suffice. This one belongs to a loan of grain and money, Tebtunis Papyri 388, lines 34, 35 (A.D. 98): *ἔγραψεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ἀυσ[ίμαχ(ος) Κρονίωνος μὴ εἰδότος γράμ(μ)ατα.*

It is needless to add more. They tell the same almost monotonous story of the substitutionary use of *ὑπέρ*.

When we turn to the New Testament from the papyri there can, of course, be no grammatical reluctance to allowing the same usage for *ὑπέρ* if the context calls for it. Theological prejudice must be overruled.

There are two instances in the New Testament that are as plain as any in the papyri, examples that are explained in the context on the basis of the substitutionary use of *ὑπέρ*. One of these occurs in John ii. 50, where Caiaphas unwittingly plays the prophet, but makes perfectly clear his own meaning: *οὐδὲ λογίζεσθε ὅτι συμφέρει ὑμῖν ἵνα εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἀποθάνῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ ἔθνος ἀπόληται.* The last clause shows conclusively that Caiaphas means that Jesus is to be put to death so that the people perish not. It is political substitution that Caiaphas has in mind and not theological, though John finds that in the words also. But the author of the Fourth Gospel has no hesitation in employing *ὑπέρ* for the idea of vicarious suffering in the mind of Caiaphas. Abbott (*Johannine Grammar*, p. 276) thinks that in almost all the Johannine instances *ὑπέρ* refers to the death of one for the many.

The other instance is in Galatians iii. 13. In this passage (iii. 10–13) Paul draws a picture by means of three prepositions (*ὑπό, ὑπέρ, ἐκ*). There are pictures in prepositions if one has eyes to see them. Here Paul is discussing the

death of Jesus on the Cross. Let us see his picture. He is arguing that the real children of Abraham are those who believe, whether Jews or Gentiles, for all who try to be saved by the law are under a curse (*ὑπὸ κατάραν*). The curse of the law, like a Damascus blade, hangs over the head of every one who lives not up to every requirement of the law. But Christ became a curse for us or over us (*γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρα*), that is the Damascus blade fell on Christ instead of upon us, Christ standing over (*ὑπέρ*) us and between us and the curse of the law under (*ὑπὸ*) which we lived. Thus Christ bought us out from under the curse of the law (*Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου*). The curse had no longer power over us and we were set free. We walked out (*ἐκ*) from under (*ὑπό*) the curse because Christ became a curse in our stead (*ὑπέρ*). Thus Paul tells the story of Christ's atoning death by means of these three Greek prepositions. It was a common thing for a man (see the papyri) to buy a slave for the purpose of setting him free. Paul uses this idiom in Galatians v. 1, 13. "For freedom did Christ set us free," "for ye were called for freedom." There is no fair way to get around Paul's meaning in Galatians iii. 13. There is no grammatical reason for trying to do so. When one turns to such passages as Mark xiv. 24; 2 Corinthians v. 15; Romans v. 6 f.; viii. 32; Titus ii. 14; Hebrews ii. 9, there is no room left for protest from the side of grammar. In a case like Philemon 13 one is inclined to think also that Paul means that Onesimus ministered to him in lieu of Philemon (*ἵνα ὑπὲρ σοῦ μοι διακονῇ*), though "behalf of" will make sense.

I do not care to go farther into the theological objections to the substitutionary theory of the atonement which have been used to distort the plain meaning of a context like Galatians iii. 10–13. For myself I may say that no one of the theories of the atonement states all the truth nor,

indeed, do all of them together. The bottom of this ocean of truth has never been sounded by any man's plumb-line. There is more in the death of Christ for all of us than any of us has been able to fathom. There is, no doubt, an element of truth in all our theories. Each is one angle of the truth, but only one. However, one must say that substitution is an essential element in any real atonement. It is by no means all of it, as one can see from Hebrews ix. 12–14. But it is futile to try to get rid of substitution on grammatical arguments about *ὑπέρ*. The presumption is now in favour of the use of *ὑπέρ* for the idea of substitution.

As to philosophical difficulties they were always chiefly imaginary and grew out of the fancied necessity of explaining every aspect of this blessed truth. Nicodemus is not the only theologian or philosopher who has stumbled at "the earthly" things before he could believe "the heavenly" (John iii. 12). The necessity of the lifting up of the Son of man (iii. 14) lies back in the purpose of God who was just and wished to justify the sinful (Rom. iii. 36). We can thank God that He did so love the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that every one who believes on Him should not perish but might have eternal life (John iii. 16). That is the Gospel. It is the Gospel since the war as it was before. The men in the trenches have put the theologians to shame by the readiness with which they accepted and in a measure apprehended the fact that Christ died to save sinners, died to make men holy as they were dying to make men free. It is a good time to preach again the gospel of grace. There never was any other real gospel to preach, but just now the hearts of men are ready for the real gospel of love. We may leave to God His part of the problem provided we act in accord with His demands upon us. We do not have to explain in full precisely how the death of Christ has value with God for our sin so that He is

willing to forgive us and let us go free. There are many defects in the human intellect. We see in a glass darkly, but God's love, like His laws, works on in spite of our dulness. It will do us no harm to speculate with our philosophical theories. That is our privilege and our duty so long as we recognize clearly that we are quite beyond our depth. Meanwhile it is good to preach over again the full gospel of the redemptive sacrifice of Jesus for human sin. That is what is meant by the grace of God (2 Cor. viii. 9). The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ appears precisely in this, that, though rich, He became poor that we, through His poverty, might become rich. That is substitution. The one who knew no sin God made to be sin in our stead (ὑπέρ), that we might become God's righteousness in Him (2 Cor. v. 21). All this and more Paul poured into the preposition ὑπέρ. The papyri forbid our emptying ὑπέρ of this wealth of meaning in the interest of any theological theory.

A. T. Robertson.

THE SAINTS AT EPHESUS.

It has long been an accepted conclusion that the words "at Ephesus" in Ephesians i. 1 were not in the original Epistle. There was a blank space after "the saints which are," intended to be filled in with the name of each of the several Churches for which it was destined. When Tychichus, the "faithful minister" to whose care it had been entrusted, read the Apostle's message aloud to the assembled Church, he would add the words, "at Ephesus," "at Laodicea," "at Colosse," or whatever city it was. And if, when he went on his way, he left a copy behind him, as we may suppose that he would, the transcribers would naturally insert in the MS., which they kept and cherished, the name of their own city. It was their own Apostle's message to

themselves none the less because he sent it to the brethren of neighbouring Churches as well. Written from Rome in confinement during the long and tedious interval between his appeal to Cæsar and his trial, it may well have seemed that these were his farewell words to "the saints" whom he loved so well. Four years or so before this he had said to the elders of Ephesus, "I know that ye all shall see my face no more." This prediction indeed was falsified, if we may account the Pastoral Epistles authentic, and St. Paul lived to see Ephesus and the saints at Ephesus again.

But when he wrote from Rome, the prediction must have seemed more likely to be fulfilled than it did when it was first uttered at Miletus. And this likelihood must have added singular pathos and authority to the old Apostle's appeal, "I therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you." It may well have been a reason for giving this letter a larger destination than any previous one. It may help to explain why it "was intended as a circular letter, an encyclical, to go the round of many Churches in Asia Minor."

But does it follow, or is it equally clear, that "no epistle is so general, so little addressed to the peculiar needs of one Church, more than another?" (Dean Armitage Robinson). Is it really "absolutely destitute of local or personal colouring," and in fact "more like a treatise than a letter"? (Dr. T. K. Abbott). Ephesus was not the only Church which the Apostle had in his mind when he wrote, but it was unquestionably the most important.[1] No other place in Asia Minor approached the third city of the Empire in population, wealth, and commercial activity. In no other town had he who was so constantly "in journeyings" sojourned "for the space of two years." No place in the

[1] Dr. Abbott thinks that it was not meant for Ephesus at all, but it is hardly conceivable that St. Paul should write a circular letter to the Churches of Asia without including Ephesus

world, save Rome itself, was so full of opportunities, so important a strategic point to occupy and fortify as a base of operations for the Gospel. And it is no chance that St. Paul's two greatest Epistles, the two in which he most deliberately gives the world his own thoughts and beliefs, and which have therefore both been called "treatises," should be the Epistle to the Romans, though at the time he wrote it he had never been to Rome and evidently felt that his writing to a Church not under his jurisdiction (cf. 2 Cor. x. 16, "another's province") might be misconstrued,—and the Epistle to the Ephesians. For the Epistle to the Ephesians primarily it still is, even if it be identical with "the Epistle from Laodicea" and other places as well.

Is this Epistle then "destitute of local or personal colouring?" Personal allusions and greetings indeed there are not, but is the heading "To the Ephesians" unessential or even detrimental to the understanding of its contents?

I have thought for some years that a suggestion by Otto Pfleiderer in his *Urchristenthum* deserves more consideration than it has, so far as I am aware, received, and really illuminates some passages. It is not worked out by Pfleiderer himself, and has not been mentioned in any of the excellent English commentaries that have appeared of late years. It is coupled in *Urchristenthum* with the assertion that the Epistle is a production of the second century, and therefore not a genuine work of St. Paul himself. This conclusion does not, as I shall hope to show later, necessarily follow from the suggestion, though quite possibly it may have served to commend it to Pfleiderer himself. Indeed it rather impairs the interest and worth of the writer's main idea.

This idea is that the Epistle to the Ephesians was written to a Church in which, for the first time since the Gospel had

been preached, the Gentile Christian element had come to preponderate over the Jewish. At first the Church was of course both in theory and fact scarcely more than a reformed Israel. If the "wise, mighty, and noble" of Corinth interested themselves at all in the new religion, they would gather that there had been a split in the local Jewish synagogue. Crispus its ruler had gone over to the seceders, Sosthenes his successor had been beaten by a riotous mob, and a considerable following of the least wise and noble of the town had been drawn over to the new or schismatic synagogue by a fanatical Jewish tent-maker, who was the cause of all the disturbance and had proved a rather perplexing problem to Gallio himself. Probably both at Corinth and elsewhere the most educated believers, such as Apollos, were Jews by race. Of course Greeks and men of various nationalities were baptized in large and increasing numbers; but they would be regarded as having professed a religion of Jewish origin, and might be described even by their leaders as "Jews inwardly." It is probable indeed that in the Church at Thessalonica, and perhaps elsewhere too, the Gentile element was almost from the beginning numerically the greater (1 Thess. i. 9); but it was not often of so much weight and influence as the other, and consisted largely of slaves. Generally the Gentile Christians were tolerated with more or less suspicion and dislike by those who had been the first to hope in Christ (Eph. i. 12) and who regarded the Gospel as the fulfilment of the promises made to "the fathers" of Israel. Undoubtedly if it had not been for St. Paul, circumcision would have been insisted upon as the normal, perhaps the indispensable preliminary to Baptism, passing men through the gate of the old covenant before they could approach the inner sanctum of the new. "The Gospel of the Uncircumcision" was looked upon as inferior to "the Gospel of the Circumcision." In spite of

what we read in the Acts, we can hardly help inferring from the Epistles that the original Twelve, including St. Peter himself, must have often been perplexed and worried by the endless difficulties and dissensions in the Church caused by this invasion of men of alien race and opposite customs, rites, and traditions, owing no allegiance to laws which to them were venerable and sacred. Hence almost ever since his work had begun St. Paul had had not only to preach the Gospel of Christ as "the power of God unto salvation," but to take his stand as the champion of "justification by faith" and freedom from the law of Moses. Once he had been obliged to "resist" Peter to the face. Barnabas, his best and dearest colleague, had been "carried away" by the prejudices and fears of the orthodox, safe, and conservative party. The Epistle to the Galatians shows us the most critical point in the struggle. In the Epistle to the Romans we find, as Bishop Lightfoot told us, a quieter mood as of a man who no longer fears for the final issue. But even from that Epistle it is evident that the struggle was not over. Again and again the old traditions and dislikes revived, even though they had been acknowledged to be wrong. It may well be that many worthy and God-fearing Israelites, who were also devout believers in Jesus of Nazareth as the promised Messiah, never quite got over their repugnance to fellowship with "the uncircumcised." They may have entertained involuntarily for their new associates something of the feeling that an educated Englishman abroad might have, when worshipping with native Christians of a low caste and intelligence, and customs that he thinks disgusting.

But among "the saints at Ephesus" the scale has definitely turned the other way. The Church is predominantly Gentile in origin, character, and outlook. There is no question, as there had been in Galatia (Gal. iv. 10, etc.),

and even in Corinth (1 Cor. vii. 18), of return to ordinances which would have destroyed the freedom and effectually stopped the growth of the infant Church. The balance of power has shifted. In intelligence and influence, as well as in numbers, the Greek element is now in the ascendant. It is no longer possible even for outsiders to mistake the Church for a dissenting synagogue. The saints at Ephesus think of themselves as Jews scarcely more than we do. They are something like a Church of native Christians who no longer look upon their faith as an offshoot of Western civilisation and ethics. They are beginning to claim a voice in the administration and government of a movement which they see to be something bigger than any nation or system of civilisation. They do not need the European missionary to plead for their toleration or inclusion within the pale. They can already do without his advocacy; perhaps before long they will not need his oversight. The saints at Ephesus are in fact the first Church which is conscious in itself, and makes it more or less manifest to the world, that it is a branch of a Church which is going to be Universal.

Now if for the moment we may suppose this to be the case, what would be St. Paul's feelings about it? Why! of course it was the dream of his life fulfilled. It was an answer to prayer far beyond what even he had dared to expect. God was indeed "able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think." "The Apostle of the Gentiles!" The title, sometimes flung at him in contempt, was on its way to become a crown of glory such as it had never entered into the heart of man to conceive. The base things of the world and the things that are despised had triumphed to the confusion and astonishment of the wise, the cautious, the orthodox, the respected of this world. No more need he be anxious for the future. "The enmity,

even the law of commandments contained in ordinances," had been abolished; "the middle wall of partition" so broken down, that none would dare to attempt to rebuild it. The Judaism which had tried so hard and had well-nigh succeeded in strangling the Gospel of free grace, had received a decisive and final set-back. Good men who still clung timidly to the traditions of the elders must see that the Church did not need them. The saints at Ephesus could show a more excellent way. That way was sure to be followed in time by other Churches. And so the old Apostle saw of the travail of his soul and was satisfied. "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."

There is a reason for everything, and there must be some reason for the unique hymn of praise, or rhapsody, with which the Epistle to the Ephesians opens. Immediately after the salutation the Apostle is carried away by a flood of joyful emotion. The sentence rushes on impetuously like a torrent, unable to pause, dashing over the barriers of grammar, defying punctuation, so that one wonders how Tychichus read it aloud intelligibly. We are reminded of one of the Evangelical Leaders of the eighteenth century who in his devotions was so filled with the sense of God's majesty and mercy that he cried out, "Lord, hold thy hand, or the vessel will burst." We have been accustomed to think of this wonderful hymn simply as an example of the Apostle's habitual faith. He is a prisoner. His labour of many years seems to be all in vain. Even in the Christian brotherhood "all seek their own" (Phil. ii. 21). Nevertheless lost in gratitude and adoration, he pours forth this flood of praise. It is "A General Thanksgiving." The saint is never at a loss for subjects for thankful remembrance. He rejoices in the Lord always. The greater the outward adversity, the more abundant the inward comfort. So we have hitherto explained the Apostle's radiant happiness.

But what if he had after all a special reason for revealing his inner life of praise and prayer in this Epistle as he does in no other? "A General Thanksgiving" gains emphasis and significance when we are impelled to it by some particular circumstance. Does not this glorious hymn become richer in interest and meaning, if we may think that before the close of his life's work there was vouchsafed to the Apostle a signal instance of God's lovingkindness to him and to all men? The thought of God's eternal purpose and good pleasure dominates the whole. For the writer had now a clearer vision and stronger proof of that "good pleasure which He purposed unto a dispensation of the fulness of the times, to sum up all things in Christ." Now the Church should be indeed "His Body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all." "Every family in heaven and on earth" should have its portion in the heritage. No longer could it be disputed "that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs and fellow-members of the body and fellow-partakers in Christ Jesus through the Gospel." And well might the Apostle to the Gentiles marvel devoutly at the part assigned to himself in the achievement of God's great work; that to him, chosen from all eternity for this purpose, "was this grace given, to preach unto the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ." Truly he could say of himself and the saints at Ephesus that "God hath blessed us with every spiritual blessing." And as we join in the Apostle's thanksgiving, we can hardly forbear to bless also the saints at Ephesus, those "beloved children," by whose means such comfort and joy had been carried to their spiritual father.

But every fresh gift of God brings its fresh responsibilities, every success its dangers and difficulties. If the Gentile Christians had discovered that they were not merely allowed a place within the Church, but that in reality they were the Church, that it was no longer possible for any one to

treat them as people whose presence had to be explained and more or less apologised for, that the future of the Gospel, "the power of God unto salvation," was in their hands, what would be sure to happen? An oppressed and despised minority comes into power. Christians though they were, the saints at Ephesus would hardly have been human if they had not felt a certain exultation over those who had now to take the second place, who had found that they were not indispensable, and that the new School were capable of taking up the reins of government. "Wherefore remember." Dean Armitage Robinson rightly insists on the significance of this reminder. "The struggle was over. It was the morrow of the victory." But it may be that the purport of this "Remember" was not only to "remind the Gentiles of what had been gained," but to warn them against elation and the spirit which takes revenge on fallen rivals. New faiths, new movements, new schools of thought arise; at first looked down upon, they gradually get a footing beside the old; then they oust their former tutors and governors from their position of authority, and themselves lead the march of human progress. How easy it is to forget what they owe to their predecessors. They have passed on to newly found truths, but they would never have found them if they had not long ago been taught the old. No doubt it had been trying to be contemned and taunted as outsiders and "called Uncircumcision." Perhaps they felt inclined now to retaliate. But they should remember that there was a time when they really were "outsiders," far away from the knowledge of which Israel had always been the privileged possessor. "Remember that there was a time when you, the Gentiles in the flesh, who are called (or, who were lately called) Uncircumcision by that which is called Circumcision in the flesh, made with hands—that you were at that time of which I now remind

you (ἐκείνῳ), separate from Christ, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of the promise, having no hope, and without God in the world. But now in Christ Jesus ye that once were far off are made nigh in the blood of Christ. For He is our peace." The average English listener is a little surprised at the sequence here. After "made nigh in the blood of Christ" and "He is our peace," he expects something on the familiar lines of the Epistle to the Romans: "Let us have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." But it appears that the Apostle is leading up not to the thought of peace between man and God, but to that of peace between man and man, peace in the Church. "He is our peace, who hath made both one, and brake down the middle wall of partition . . . that He might create in Himself of the twain one new man, so making peace; and might reconcile them both in one body unto God through the Cross."

Peace between the two sections of the Church seems here to be put almost on the same level of importance as peace between the individual soul and God, an aspect of truth which may have its lesson for us in these days. And it is the "Gentiles in the flesh" who are specially held responsible for its realisation. Now on "the morrow of the victory," it rests with them to be magnanimous, not to think of paying off old scores on those who used to call them "Uncircumcision," but to see that "each several building" or "all building" (we need not stay now to discuss the rendering of πᾶσα οἰκοδομὴ) should be fitted into its place in the one holy temple. There could be no doubt which side St. Paul himself had taken in the day of conflict. "I, Paul, the prisoner of Christ Jesus in behalf of you Gentiles." No one therefore had so good a right to plead with them for the spirit which would cement and preserve peace and unity.

But while he rejoiced in what the Church was to become, there was, in addition to disunion, another still more serious danger which menaced it in the present. We know how Englishmen abroad often talk of native Christians. "All liars and thieves." "We would never employ a Christian servant." Probably the "best" society at Ephesus would have spoken in much the same way about Christian converts there. And though the faults of native Christians are exaggerated, they do exist. The failures are known, the successes ignored, but the failures are many enough to give every missionary serious anxiety. When Canon Barnett came back from India, he said, "What India wants, is more of the Old Testament." A Gentile Church, or native Christian Church, lacks the tradition which Israel preserved, even in its worst days, of purity of life as the only acceptable offering to the Divine Being. It has not that respect for the Ten Commandments which has become engrained in the English mind, as it was in that of the Israelite. Moral stability is a gradual growth in the individual and in the society. The decrease or subordination of the Israelite element, the emergence of a society not deeply rooted in Old Testament teaching, and perhaps increasingly inclined to think it superfluous, the formation of a Church from pagan materials with little admixture of Jewish, must obviously have created a situation critical and dangerous. "Thieves and liars" were, it seems, found among Christian slaves at Ephesus (iv. 25, 28), and no doubt in the other Churches addressed, as they are found among native Christian servants in India. Other vices characteristic of Greek cities had made their appearance. St. Paul does not deal here, as he does in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, with specific instances of sins of the flesh. We may hope that no cases had occurred quite so gross as those there mentioned. Or it may be that he

had not such definite information. No special messengers had been sent from Ephesus to Rome, and in his captivity there the Apostle could hardly keep in such close touch with Ephesus as he had been able to do, while free, at Ephesus with Corinth. But he knew enough to cause him concern. It had not interfered with his thanksgiving. Nothing was ever allowed to do that. Always he looked, as we say, on the bright side of things. And the brightness and glory of what God had done at Ephesus had inspired the greatest hymn of praise that we have from his pen. But the Epistle is scarcely less remarkable for the great prayer which it gives us in the middle, Ephesians iii., than for the great thanksgiving at the beginning. And the exhortation which succeeds could not be more solemn, authoritative, and insistent. "I therefore, the prisoner in the Lord, beseech you to walk worthily of the calling wherewith ye were called." "This I say therefore, and testify in the Lord, that ye no longer walk as the Gentiles also walk." If they gloried, and the Apostle of the Gentiles also gloried, in their being pre-eminently a Gentile Church, the more strictly did it behove them to show their difference from "other Gentiles" (A.V.; the λοιπὰ of R. T. is a good instance of a really explanatory gloss), in walk and manner of life, as in faith. "That ye put off, as concerning your former manner of life, the old man, . . . and put on the new man, which after God hath been created in righteousness and holiness of truth." By common consent we turn to the fourth and fifth chapters of this Epistle, even more than to Romans xii., for a beautiful and attractive, as well as thorough and searching description of the ideal Christian life. Small points are mentioned, such as foolish talking and jesting not befitting a Christian, as well as sincerity, industry, and integrity. "To be true and just in all my dealings; to bear no malice nor hatred in my heart; to

keep my hands from picking and stealing, and my tongue from evil-speaking, lying, and slandering." Such homely duties as the Church Catechism enumerates, are to be inspired by the great motive, "Walk in love as Christ also loved you."

St. Paul never lost sight of the particular in the universal, or of the universal in the particular. Each detail of Christian behaviour has its place in his vision of the great universal Church, the society of redeemed humanity, which rises before his mind as he thinks of these very imperfect saints at Ephesus. When it is said that the New Testament knows nothing of a Catholic Church, but shows us only local bodies of Christians, unrelated to each other, we have to remember that the Epistle to the Ephesians speaks emphatically of "one body." We find the Bride of Christ depicted as "a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing." A real unity is obviously regarded as essential. "Giving diligence to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace," "One body, one Spirit, one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all." And in iii. 10 there is assigned to the Church a function which is nowhere else mentioned, and which it might well seem presumptuous to claim, "that now unto the principalities and the powers in the heavenly places might be made known through the Church the manifold wisdom of God." Never before had there come to St. Paul such a majestic conception of the Church; for what had happened at Ephesus had disclosed the ultimate purpose of God with regard to it, that "eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord."

Such a prophetic vision of the Church of the future might well be suggested to the Apostle's mind as he gave thanks for the advance made at Ephesus. Are we to say with Pfleiderer that such an advance was impossible in the space

of eight or nine years from the foundation of the Church there? that the Gentile Christians could not have attained a position of superiority during the Apostle's lifetime? and that the Epistle must therefore be the production of some writer of the second century, who, finding that the Gentile Christians were inclined to lord it over the diminishing and often retrograde Jewish Christians, wrote, as he thought Paul might have written, with the object of preserving peace and welding the two into one body? Critics often fail to combine analysis with imagination. Much mystery and some uncertainty will always surround the "Origins of Christianity." But it is plain that some surprising things, things not altogether to be accounted for by critical analysis, happened in the first century. Somehow or other a few men, of whom Paul was the most notorious and perhaps the most remarkable, managed to "turn the world upside down." The foolish or offensive Gospel (1 Cor. i. 23) proved to be "the power of God." It spread with unexpected rapidity. Things do not always move at the same pace. Men of the nineteenth century did not imagine that momentous changes would come about so quickly as we in the twentieth century are beginning to see them come. Perhaps therefore we can the better imagine that the first century may have seen some astonishingly rapid developments. It may not have taken many years for the Gentile Christians to have gained the upper hand over the original members of the Church, Jews and proselytes. Full of enthusiasm for their new Lord Christ, they took the kingdom of God by force. The development which St. Paul no doubt saw to be inevitable, need not have taken place everywhere at the same rate. In what place was it so likely to make its first appearance as at Ephesus? The Colossian Church was further from the great stream of life and thought, and may have been subject to local in-

fluences which gave its development a different trend. The problems met in the companion Epistle to the Colossians are evidently quite different, less universal, less interesting to us now. But the Apostle wished the Colossians to read also this Epistle, which they would receive from Laodicea (Col. iv. 16), perhaps because he wished them to have some insight into the larger questions here dealt with.

Moreover if this Epistle were really not composed till the second century, it would lose its point. By that time it was plain to all that the Church must be predominantly Gentile. The victory had been won long before. Exhortations to magnanimity would have been belated. It was during the Apostle's lifetime that unity was most important to be preserved, most difficult to be attained. Having secured freedom for his own special following, St. Paul at once uses his influence and authority to ensure that they do not mar their spiritual freedom by an unspiritual pride, but that they may "through love be servants one to another."

The theory of the Epistle to the Ephesians here advocated is of course only an hypothesis. But it seems to explain much of the language of the Epistle, and to be not unreasonable in itself. And knowledge is advanced by the framing of hypotheses that suit the facts. Gradually, as they are tested by the discovery of fresh facts and their co-ordination with other knowledge, they come to be accepted scientific truths, and at last commonplaces of popular knowledge. If this view of the Epistle to the Ephesians establishes itself, the Epistle will no longer be "destitute of local or personal colouring," but will have that close personal connexion with St. Paul's own life and work which is so absorbing and fascinating a study in his other writings.

W. Bartlett.

2 *TIMOTHY III.* 10 *f.*

CAN we get any light on the precise nature of the appeal which St. Paul in these verses makes to Timothy? Is there any clear sequence in the order of its parts? There are *nine* of these. Do they, like the nine-fold "fruit of the Spirit," fall naturally into three triads? Let us see.

First we have three verbal nouns connected respectively with the verbs *teach*, *lead*, *propound* (or *propose*). Timothy has been conversant with St. Paul's *teaching* of Gospel facts, with his *training* in Christian ways, and with his *challenge* to stern tasks and high endeavour. The apostle has *taught* his "dear child," has put the youth through a course of *discipline*, and then *set before* him the perils and the splendours of the Christian warfare.

The first of the three words, διδασκαλίᾳ, calls for no remark. A few verses later it marks that which is initial among the great ends for which Holy Scripture has been given, as here it tells of that which Timothy would recall as the beginning of his indebtedness to the Apostle. But in the case of the next word it is otherwise. Lexicographers, translators, and commentators have conspired to set aside, so far as this passage is concerned, the common and familiar sense of ἀγωγῇ in favour of a sense of which it would perhaps be difficult to find an undoubted example in Greek literature. Ἀγωγὴ was the accepted term for the "Discipline" introduced at Sparta by Lycurgus, and is repeatedly used of it by Plutarch himself and by an imitator of Plutarch in a treatise whose title is περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς which Professor Tucker renders "On Bringing Up a Boy." People talked of ἡ Λυκούργειος ἀγωγὴ as we do of "the Montessori *system*." In the days of the Maccabees ἡ ἀγωγὴ meant the Jewish "rule," "regimen," "discipline," "ordering" of

themselves and their life, Moses being to them what Lycurgus was to the Lacedaemonians. Both in Plutarch and in Diodorus Siculus *ἀγωγὴ* is found in company with *παιδεία*, *διδασκαλία*, and *μάθησις*. So that no word can more naturally occupy the second place in St. Paul's tracing of his pupil's steps than this word which tells of the practical training which went with the instruction which he had received.

The third word, *πρόθεσις*, is again a verbal. It can follow the sense either of the active *προτίθημι* or the middle *προτίθεμαι*. In other words, it may mean "a setting before *another*" or "a setting before *myself*," a *proposing* to another, or a *proposing* to oneself, a *challenge* or a *purpose*. St. Paul five times uses *πρόθεσις* in the latter sense, always however of God's purpose. St. Luke uses it of the sailor's purpose in Acts xxvii. 13, and tells us in xi. 23 that St. Barnabas encouraged the converts at Antioch to cleave to the Lord *τῇ προθέσει τῆς καρδίας*. Of *πρόθεσις* as formed from *προτίθημι* the familiar Biblical instance is *οἱ ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως*, "the loaves of the setting forth" (before God). In rhetoric *πρόθεσις* and *πίστις* are the two necessary parts of a speech, the *statement of the case* and the proof (Arist. Rhet. iii. 13. 3). But *πρόθεσις* could be used of anything of which *προτιθέναι* (or *προτίθεσθαι*) was used, e.g. of proposing a contest, a discussion, a task. In this place, coming after *διδασκαλία* and *ἀγωγὴ*, it would seem to give us the picture of the teacher and trainer calling on the young athlete to engage in the conflict.

And what manner of man had Timothy found St. Paul to be as he went through this course? The Apostle does not hesitate to claim that his pupil had felt that he wholly *believed* what he taught, had absolute *confidence* in the Master under whose discipline he brought him, was *convinced*, of the grandeur of the service which he set before

him (*τῇ πίστει*). And he dares to say that this often weak and discouraged child had found him *patient*, ready to bear with him (*τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ*), and filled with an unfailing *love* (*τῇ ἀγάπῃ*).

In the third triad he appeals to Timothy's knowledge of his readiness to throw off the herald's robe and enter the lists himself, to run the race and fight the good fight as well as teach and train, to *endure persecutions and hardships* with a brave waiting upon God (*τῇ ὑπομονῇ, τοῖς διωγμοῖς, τοῦς παθήμασιν*).

NOTE 1.—Plato in the *Republic*, speaking of the training of the Guardians, writes, "We must watch them, setting them from boyhood actions to perform in which people would be likely to forget, etc., *εὐθὺς εἰς παίδων προθεμένοις ἔργα κ.τ.λ.* (where the middle verb marks that the setting is *sui causa*) p. 413C. In the *Crito* he contrasts rough enjoining with free proposing of tasks—*προτιθέντων ἡμῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀγρίως ἐπιταττόντων ἃ ἂν κελεύωμεν* (51E.) Cf. Philemon 8 f.

2.—It is interesting to note that two of the translators of the Old Testament use *ἀγωγὴ* of the "driving" of Jehu. In many cases where we speak of a "course" (a "running") the Greeks spoke of an *ἀγωγὴ* (a "driving," i.e. a guiding with the reins).

G. H. WHITAKER.

JESUS THE HOUSEHOLDER.

"If they have called the master of the house Beelzeboul, how much more shall they call them of his household?" (Matt. x. 25). In these words, spoken at the sending-out of His followers, Jesus describes Himself as a householder with a family of sorts. The words send the mind wandering wistfully over all the days of our Lord's ministry, searching for an answer to some eager questions of the heart. Did Jesus have a home—a home of His own—during the days of His public career?

There are a great many people who deprecate this hankering after the lowly details of the Lord's career. They think it is not treating the Lord of glory, the Saviour of the world, with becoming reverence and respect. Scornfully they ask, What has it got to do with the destiny of our immortal souls? There is no need to be afraid of that scorn. Jesus spoke the great facts of eternity in the homeliest pictures of our earthly life. It is in stooping to share the simple facts of our humanity that He reveals to us the deepest and loveliest secrets of God. What is the noblest fact of human life? Is it not that which we call by the name of home? Not the four walls of a house; a man may sometimes make the place where he sleeps and eats his hell. But the crowning glory of human love—God setting the solitary in families—home in that sense is a holy thing, the one temple that has endured through all the ages of mankind. If there is nothing like it in heaven, then heaven is a poor and empty place with no attraction for the heart-hunger of man.

But heaven was home to Jesus, nothing but home—love—a Father happy among His children. He translated all His good news into the earthly language of home. Surely

it cannot be a vain question, to ask if He founded a home, and what it meant to Him. Had He no home, no home at all, no fixed place of residence while He went about doing good? We think of Him most frequently, perhaps, as the homeless One, the solitary Man, the Wanderer whom God never set in a family of His own. He Himself once said in grim and sorrowful irony, that He came to be the breaker-up of homes. "I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and a man's foes shall be they of his own household. . . ." (Matt. x. 35). He never married, nor had children of His own. Yet this we might dare to say, He became homeless, in order to make home the last sure reality to the soul of man.

I.

But the facts are not so simple as that statement seems to make them. They are rich with mingled tragedy and pathos. They excite in us deep wonder and gratitude and joy.

We know that He made the City of Capernaum His head-quarters during the first two years of His ministry. What was the nature of His place of sojourn in Capernaum? For undoubtedly there was a roof-tree of some sort to which He ever and again returned. When He came back from His first gospel tour in Galilee, the word passed through the town, "He is home!" (Mark ii. 1). Does that just mean He is back to Capernaum, the city that His friends who gave us the Gospel call "His own city?" (Matt. ix. 1). Literally, the words mean, "He is in the house." After He ordained the twelve disciples, on the mountain high above the shores of the Lake, we read that they returned home; and we get a glimpse of them all together, Master and disciples, trying to eat a meal, disturbed and interrupted by the insis-

tent clamour and movement of the crowd outside (Mark iii. 19). Not a very restful picture of home, truly, yet once more the words are, "Into (the) house." And on still another occasion, when He had spoken to the crowd some memorable parables in the open air, we see Him entering into the house with His disciples. And circling round Him as He sits there, they ask Him to explain the parable which He had just spoken outside (Matt. xiii. 36). Was He then a householder in Capernaum?

A verse in the Gospel of John seems to let us into the secret. We read that "after this"—after He had returned from the preaching of the Baptist at Jordan—"He went down to Capernaum, He and His mother and brethren, and His disciples."[1] There is much that is symbolical in this Gospel, but it is difficult to discover any reason of that kind for the telling of all this in such detail. It certainly seems a fragment of history. And the most natural inference is that they were leaving the old home in Nazareth behind them. There is no mention of His sisters going with Him. Does that marriage in Cana of Galilee, to which Jesus and His mother were invited, mean that He had just seen the last of His sisters settled in a home of her own? One remembers here the words which the townsfolk whispered to each other when He re-visited Nazareth a long time after, and spoke in the old synagogue where He worshipped as a boy: "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, and the brother of James and Joses and Judas and Simon? And His sisters,"—mark what follows about the sisters—"are they not all here with us?" (Mark vi. 3). Surely these questions not only corroborate the word of John, which says that only the mother and the brothers went with Him to

[1] John. ii. 12. The addition that "they (or He) stayed there a little time" does not invalidate the conclusion. It means, they had not been settled there long before His preaching journeys began.

Capernaum, but also help to confirm the suggestion that it was to establish a new home in Capernaum that they went thither. Perhaps He had handed over the business to a sister's husband in Nazareth ; and this would have involved His leaving, since trade was too meagre in the little Highland town to maintain them all. Certainly it was not to support Him in His preaching craze that mother and brothers went with Him to the busy city by the Lake. Down in Capernaum we cannot but believe He still plied His trade in manly independence mending boats, repairing fittings for the caravans that halted at the customs house making ploughs and yokes and spades for workers on the land. Doubtless it was in the open yard of the workshop, while His hands were busy, that His teaching first began.

But His life in the new homestead came to a swift and tragic end. Behind the reticence of the Gospels the tragedy of the Capernaum home-life lies half-concealed. Enough is revealed, however, to explain this reticence. It was after the choosing of the Twelve that it happened. The second brother James was, like Jesus, a deeply religious man ; but the two brothers represented the extremes which have ever striven for mastery in the history of religion. For James, religion was a matter of external precept ; for Jesus, it was the free life of the spirit. From the description early historians give of James in his later years, one can almost be certain that he became a Pharisee in his early manhood. A Pharisee and a religious revolutionary living side by side ! Tragedy was not far to seek. And the word " A man's foes shall be they of his own household," speaks of a frequent clash of contending views. The question of the authorship of the epistle attributed to James is doubtless a vexed one. It cannot be discussed here. But in the view of the writer it seems most probable that the document is a mosaic of remembered fragments of James' homilies and sayings,

prepared by a member of the early Jerusalem Church for the benefit of the Christian refugees who had been scattered on the eve of the fall of the city. The letter contains much that suggests a mind which had been influenced by long and close contact with the mind of Jesus. Sentences and phrases again and again remind us of golden words which we find recorded in the Sermon on the Mount and elsewhere in the Gospels. But the absence of slavish copying suggests that they are echoes of the talk that fell from Jesus' lips beside the bench in Capernaum. Yet James had heard them with a hostile and censorious heart. The old conventions of the Jewish faith still held him fast. And the mother and the other brothers were in secret sympathy with James. Perhaps they resented the invasion of the home, when Jesus brought the chosen Twelve—fishermen, taxgatherers, unclean folk—back with Him that morning from Karn Hattin, and tried to entertain them while the crowd clamoured about the door. Certain it is, that as they watched the growing crowds, absorbed in His deeds of healing, hanging on His words with wonderment ; and as they listened to the scornful officials of the synagogue saying, " He is in league with the devil : it is the power of Beelzeboul" (Mark iii. 22), doubt, alarm, suspicion and mistrust entered the breasts of mother and brothers. Love and confidence were driven out. Home became an empty name to Jesus.

At last one day, surrounded by the eager crowd down by the shore, while the passionate words poured from His heart, He saw them, mother and brothers, supported, nay, urged on by some malice-loving scribes, pressing in on the outskirts of the throng. And He heard the excited voice of James saying, " We must take Him home, He is mad ! " (Mark iii. 21). " See," said some one in the crowd to the Master. " Your mother and your brethren want you" (Mark iii. 31 ff.). We have read the words that follow many a time. We

have read them lightly and unthinkingly, read them in lively tones as if they were a brilliant religious epigram, read them gravely as if they were a piece of cold ethical philosophy, read them at best as if they were a stern, indignant rebuke. The truth is, every syllable is a drop of blood. "Who is My mother, and who are My brothers?" asked the quivering lips. And then we are told He looked round and round on them that sat about Him. The memory of that look never faded out of Peter's mind. And thanks to him we have it recorded in Mark's Gospel. Anguish, shame, yearning, sorrow unutterable; a long hesitation while the call of the blood, the love of family, the ties of home, tugged and strained at His heart. And then they broke. Thrusting out His hand (Matt. xii. 49)—the only time we are ever told of a gesture of the Master's hands while He spoke in public—in an abrupt, swift movement towards His twelve disciples, He said, "Behold My Mother and My brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is My brother, and sister and mother." That was enough. Mother and brethren understood, and turned and stole away. And as they went, the ears of James, stung to alertness by the smart of the rebuke, caught the sad words, like a knell of doom, "I say unto you that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof at the day of judgment" (Matt. xii. 36). James had called his brother mad. An idle word! A cruel word, worse than the thrust of an assassin's sword! The last of many. Is it merely fanciful to say that James heard his brother's reproach in this word? Read the Epistle of James again, read the third chapter. Surely this is the record of James' belated remorse. What is the sin he harps and harps upon? The sin of the idle word. The tongue, the tongue! It is a fire, a world of iniquity, it defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature, and it is set on fire of hell (James iii. 5 f.).

What is the significance of this poignant scene? It means the repudiation of His kinsfolk by Jesus, the severance of the ties of blood, the renunciation of home. And why? The home He knew and loved had lost its value, lost its reality for Jesus. Coldness, estrangement, envy, strife, had displaced love. Home was in ruins. It was no longer home for Him. But that was not why He renounced it. That was not why He made Himself homeless. He acted in the interests of a holier ideal of Home. "Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother and my sister and mother." Note the two words that end the saying—the last to fall from His reluctant lips—*and mother*. He had to say them, but it cost Him a terrible effort, the effort of a son's breaking heart. "Whosoever shall do the will of God"—these were the ones that now claimed the undivided love of His heart. Thus in the very moment when He rendered Himself homeless, He constituted His new family under the open sky. Love, His love for them, and for all who do the will of God, that was the bond of His new family, His new Home. And in that love He sought to bind them, when He came to leave them at the end: "This is My commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you" (John xv. 12). He became homeless for the sake of Home, for the sake of the true ideal of Home. He became homeless that men and women might learn to take God with them into their homes, and make them homes indeed.

II.

But was this the end of the career of Jesus as a householder? The words with which we began, "If they have called the Master of the house Beelzeboul, how much more them of his household?" are an echo of the hour we have just recalled, but they were spoken long after. And still He calls Himself Master of the house. Is it only a metaphor

now upon His lips ? When we turn to scan the records again, we find that at the very end of His two years in Galilee, after the rupture with the scribes and Pharisees over the washing of hands, He enters *into the house,* and the disciples are there questioning Him in consternation about His indignant words (Mark vii. 17). Had He a hired room then ? Or was it a room lent Him by a friend ? He had many friends in Capernaum by this time. He had cousins there, and two of them were disciples. The devoted excise-man Matthew entertained Him once. And Peter the fisher-man had Him sometimes to a meal, and even for a night's shelter and rest. Did Peter, who had seen and shared the anguish of the breaking heart writing its story in that look, now offer to make Him an inmate of his household ? There are two facts which help us to answer this inquiry. In the very last days that Jesus ever spent in Capernaum, when He returned from the momentous journey to Caesarea Philippi, determined to face the Cross, we read once more that when they entered *into the house* He asked His disciples what they had been disputing about along the way (Mark ix. 33). Striving for places ! And He crowned His gentle rebuke by a beautiful action parable. He lifted a little boy and placed him in their midst. Then gathering him in His arms, He spoke still further from this living text. The presence of that child in the house suggests that this was no house of Jesus' own : He shared a roof with another family now. And Peter was married, and tradition says this boy was Peter's son.

One other incident immediately followed, which seems to make the proof complete. They were not very long home before the Temple tribute collectors knocked at Peter's door (Matt. xvii. 24. ff.). They came to remind him that owing to his absence his payment of the sacred tax had fallen into arrears. " And what about Jesus ? "

they asked. And Peter was embarrassed, for his purse was empty. "Go down to the harbour, Peter," said the gentle voice behind him. "You will catch a fish and it will fetch a shilling. That will just pay for you and for Me." Notice that this matter concerned Peter's household alone, and that Jesus was involved. Jesus and Peter were obviously the two male adults in this home. May we not draw one more inference from this story? If Jesus had been merely a dependant, a temporary guest living upon Peter's hospitality, Peter would hardly have been challenged about the payment of Jesus' dues. The inference therefore is that Jesus insisted upon paying His way. And the inference is a satisfying one. Right to the very end of His Galilee days He maintained His manhood, His independence, His self-respect. Absorbed though He was in His divine calling, He must still live the life of a true man in the world. He will owe no man anything but love. Had He perforce to change His occupation when He renounced His home? His parables might almost convince us at times that He had laboured on the land. But it is probable, too, that He toiled in the boats with His friends on the Lake sometimes. And then in His own hired room in Peter's house He would break bread with them in the evening, and speak in reverent tones of the kingdom which was Home. He was Master of the household, and they were His children, His household. What celestial nights these must have been! How He tried to be a father to them in spiritual things, yes, and a mother too! For He knew the human emotion which He has described in the homely figure of a hen gathering her brood beneath her wings. Home-love is a cherishing, fostering love. How He lavished His love upon these friends of His, and in the most intimate and familiar ways! He had by-names for some of them: Peter, the rock; Boanerges, the two hotheads. Matthew, God's gift, was the

name He gave to Levi. He distinguished one Judas from Iscariot by calling him Lebbaeus, my hearty. "Little flock," He called them all. In graver mood He called them brothers. In lighter vein He called them children, and sometimes even lads. But it seems as though His favourite word for them was "little ones"; yes it was a cherishing love indeed. And home love is a defending love. One of the few times He ever was angry was when Pharisees found fault with the disciples for sitting down to food with some of the grime of the nets still on their hands. To save them from mortification He would dare defy the most powerful ecclesiastical authority that ever held sway among men. And O the depths of the indignant chivalry that breathes through the terrible words: "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones that believe in Me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were drowned in the depths of the sea!" (Matt. xviii. 6). Yes it was a cherishing and a defending love.

Thus He fulfilled the rôle of Master of the house to them of His household.

All too soon it ended. The paying of that temple tax was practically the last act He ever performed in the fulfilment of His obligations as a citizen and a householder. It was probably only a few days after this that the grim, sad words were spoken: "Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head" (Luke ix. 58). Once more and finally the household is broken up. He is a homeless outlaw, roaming the hills and the valleys. Why? Why did He take this drastic step, denying Himself the comforts of a dwelling? We find the reason when we turn to the words spoken on the shores of Tyre a few weeks before this day, at the moment of His great decision to win all His people for His heavenly Father's kingdom or die in the attempt. It is

all summed up in that single phrase, laden with a patriot's pity and deep desire, " the lost sheep of the house of Israel " (Matt. xv. 24). It was the vision of His heavenly Father's sorrow-riven heart, brooding over His desolated home, that drew Christ out along the ways that led to Calvary. The burden of His pleading, through all the streets and lanes of that great passion-journey, is still the call of the risen Christ to wandering men and women.

My blood so red
For thee was shed;
Come home again, come home again;
My own sweet heart, come home again!
You've gone astray
Out of your way;
Come home again, come home again!

" It is not the will of your Father in heaven that one of these little ones should perish." Yes, He became homeless that He might call the wanderers home.

III.

Let us follow Him for a moment along that road where He wandered homeless for a year towards Jerusalem. Did He give up His independence when He resolved to surrender His privileges as a householder? We do not believe it. We are told of some women of means who followed Him from Galilee to Jerusalem, ministering to His comforts. And there were times doubtless when He would have gone hungry had it not been for their devotion. But we know that the disciples had a common purse; and the money was not all spent when the last night of the Saviour's life was reached. Not that it contained much. The thought of spending ten pounds to feed five thousand brought them once to the point of consternation. But it was in the main sufficient for their common wants; and Jesus' own savings must have been in that purse along with the rest. Doubtless many

of His nights were spent in caves and woods beneath the open sky. And when they did seek a lodging on inclement nights, the task seems to have fallen upon Jesus in the end. The disciples' first attempt was a miserable failure: a Samaritan village would have nothing to do with them, and they were mortified and angry. Everywhere along the road we watch Jesus' amazing gift of making friends. Even a ruler of the Pharisees entertained Him as He travelled down the Lake-side (Luke xiv. 1). And think of the mothers in yon Perean town, bringing their babes to receive His farewell kiss and blessing. There could be no more entrancing revelation of the place He had made for Himself in their homes. Think again of the scene on the streets of Jericho, when, across a sea of disapproving faces, He shouted His gay, resistless self-invitation to the despised little taxgather in the sycamore tree: "Hurry up, Zacchaeus! Down you come! I am going to stay at your house to-day." That was how He always made His way. What could His disciples do in the face of this amazing power of instantaneous friendship but just leave it all to Him? Think of Bethany: "a certain woman named Martha welcomed Him to her house." It was not the disciples who had won an entrance for Him to that home. He had stolen the hearts of all the family. It is the most home-like scene in all this homeless year. And in the days that followed He returned again and again to this quiet retreat. And once more, when we read of the man with the water-jar waiting at the gate to show Peter and John the upper room in Jerusalem where He was to eat the Passover meal, we feel that there had been a secret arrangement beforehand between Jesus and some friends of His in the city. We might almost say this homeless wanderer had become the man of many homes.

Indeed it was always home where Jesus was. The little room in Capernaum is far away behind Him now, but th

love-circle is still unbroken, and where love is, there is home. They had left all to follow Him, but Jesus said, and they knew His word was true, "No man who has left his home, —brothers, sisters, father, mother, wife, children, lands for My sake but will find a hundred-fold more even now in this time . . . and in the world to come life eternal." His presence was home to them. For home is not the four walls of a house, but just love, love that cherishes, love that defends and protects, aye, and love that serves, that spends itself for the beloved, even to the uttermost. See them in the upper-room,—the last forming of the home circle round a common board; no servant to wait on them, no humble slave to wash their feet. But Jesus Himself rises, girds a towel round His waist, and fulfils that lowly service for them all, including the traitor—and He knew. So the Master of the household takes the place of the lowliest slave. It is the noblest, the one perfect realisation in the world's history, of the spirit, the inner secret of the word home. Nay, it is the complete disclosure, before the disciple-circle, of the supreme law of the Kingdom of heaven. The greatest is he that serveth. The heavenly Father is the most self-effacing Servant of creation. "Greater love hath no man than this," His disciples were thinking as they watched Him. And to-morrow He was to die for them. It was His last night with His household, and He opened His heart to them. "With desire have I desired to eat this Paschal meal with you before I suffer; for I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God." In a very little while they would see His face no more. As they listened the silence of deepest sorrow fell upon them.

O, I think He rose then from the table and, hiding His face from them for a moment, He stood at the open door of that room on the roof of the house. There above Him spread

" the magic significant night, silent with excess of meaning," crowded with throbbing stars. I think I see Him stretching His hands out and up towards that sight, as He turned half round to speak to them, and then the great words fell : " Let not your hearts be troubled ; believe in God, yea, believe in me. In my Father's house are many mansions ; if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you . . . I will come again and receive you to myself, that where I am there ye may be also . . . "

It was all but the last moment in the circle of the earthly home. To-morrow He was to leave them. To-morrow He was to set out on the unknown journey, homeless, homeless, into the pitch-black night of death.

That Cross is the deepest assurance of the life for ever. In a universe that contains love like that, there is no death. He became homeless that Home might be the last sure reality to men.

JAMES ALEX. ROBERTSON.

THE MORAL NECESSITY OF ATONEMENT.

WHEN we put faith in the atoning work of Jesus Christ we express our assurance that history counts in the final issue of things. Man's salvation is an act of God most High. There was a long period during which human salvation had not been accomplished. There came an hour at which it could truly be said, " It is finished," and what was true then is true now and forevermore. We smile to-day at the child-like fashion of conceiving this truth found in the fancy—sanctioned by no church authority—of the " Harrowing of Hades." According to that myth-like fable, none of the friends of God could enjoy true blessedness after death until the Redeemer of mankind paid a brief visit to the dreary underworld, and rose again bringing His

ransomed ones with Him. We may smile too at the desperately unhistorical thesis of patristic and mediæval theology, or of the theology of old-fashioned Protestantism, that believers under the first covenant consciously looked forward to the atoning work of Jesus Christ, just as we consciously look back to it; that the work was historical, but its religious value consistently supra-historical. Yet, while we smile at blundering efforts to cut the knot, let us recognise that it may prove no easy matter to untie it by vindicating for reflexion the instinctive feeling of the Christian consciousness. Our redemption is no mere complex of ideas. It is a fact in history; the central fact of all that long story. And we must be on our guard as Christians against the tyranny of several types of idealist philosophy, which sterilise such belief at the outset. Loyalty or disloyalty to the great fact means life or means death to Christian faith. Not a few so-called theories of Atonement are evasions or denials of the fact itself.

Assuming then the view of history as not merely a divine manifestation but a divine activity, we proceed to emphasise several elements in the doctrine of Atonement. First, we are saved, specifically and emphatically, by the sufferings and death of Christ. Certainly there will be few or none to-day who will seek to separate the death of Christ from the life which it crowned. The "imputation of Christ's active obedience" is a desperately scholastic fashion of asserting the connexion between the death and the antecedent life; yet, however obsolete its terms of thought or of expression, it points to a truth. The death does not save us without the life. It is the death of *Jesus Christ* that saves; the death of Him who had shown Himself to be what we mean by Jesus Christ; dare we add it?—who had *become* Jesus Christ amid the sufferings and temptations of His life before that hour, when as a merciful and faithful

high-priest, He undertook the supreme task of dying. But we must affirm with at least equal emphasis the counter-proposition, that the life does not save us apart from the death. If either can be passed over in a brief statement of Christian facts, the death cannot be omitted and the life may. For it was given to Christ to embody in that supreme sacrifice all that His life meant, of love to man and of filial faithfulness towards God.

Secondly: the death of Christ is known by Christians as procuring for us or conveying to us or assuring us of the forgiveness of our sins; and this is the primary gift of God—the first and, in a sense, the greatest and most wonderful thing included in salvation. *How* the death of Christ is related to man's forgiveness may perplex us. Perhaps our Lord's death procures forgiveness. Perhaps it conveys forgiveness. Perhaps it rather assures us—giving us moral warrant, even at the moment when we confess our sins, to believe in the forgiveness of God. Or perhaps several of these expressions may be justified. Or quite different expressions may do better service in interpreting God to men. But, even if the effort at definition should result in failure—even if we must endure the jeers of those who are content with some plausible and glib formula that cannot long content either mind or heart or conscience—we will not waver in the confession, though made perhaps half blindly, that in Christ we have redemption through His blood, even the forgiveness of our sins. There may indeed be another thing in regard to which our thought must row riper. There may be something to learn as to what forgiveness means. Is it just the remission of penalties? Does it always include such remission? Or is the essence of forgiveness rather restoration to God's friendship? Can that friendship then ever be interrupted? And, if interrupted, can it ever possibly be reknit? Christian faith

is sure of its answer. Sin does separate from God. Christ by His death does reconcile.

Thirdly: the cross of Christ is held to be not merely the means of forgiveness but also the fountain-head of the new life. If we must say, with the child's hymn, "He died that we might be forgiven," we must continue with it, in the next breath, "He died to make us good." And these two great benefits, however closely knit together, and however inseparable one from the other in experience, must be regarded (*pace* Dr. Denney) as two things and not as one. Nor shall we be loyal either to the teaching of the New Testament or to the facts of Christian experience if we lay exclusive emphasis upon forgiveness, or seek to explain the redemption of human character by some other power than the grace of the suffering Saviour. Should we say that—the constitutional barrier of sin being once removed—the goodwill of God flows out freely towards us, or that His omnipotence rescues us and terminates our state of almost utter helplessness, or that the Holy Spirit supplements *within* us the work of Christ *for* us—it is all true, and yet it is all incomplete. Christ died for us; we bless God for that great love. But also, we died with Christ. Somehow—for these are mysterious things—somehow, we say, He has broken the evil spell and won the decisive victory, which loyal faith inherits and shares.

A very great problem arises here; perhaps it will be among the last to be solved by Christian thought. How are we to adjust to each other these two achievements of the saving love of Christ? They stand in no relation whatever; so says Protestant orthodoxy. Our task—our necessary task, and the whole of our task—is to "distinguish" between "justification and sanctification." Albrecht Ritschl, when his restatement has formulated in its own fashion the elements of the Christian salvation, seems to hold a

similar view. There is an "ellipse" with two "foci." We must "distinguish" steadily between "morality and religion." Dr. Denney, again, thinks that there is no problem at all. That imperious theologian reminds a reader constantly of the Gladstonian temperament and temper—so preternaturally clear in seeing what it sees; so impatiently contemptuous of those who dare to observe anything which the Master-mind had not detected. Are we to subordinate forgiveness to renewal? Is God's forgiveness doled out by Christ in proportion as—with spiritual or sacramental assistance—we make ourselves worthier? God forbid that we should say that! Yet many have said it, and not a few say it still to-day. For that is the teaching of legalism, the age-long enemy of evangelicalism; traitor to the gospel of the grace of God; seeking to rob the redeemed of that wonderful thing, God's free forgiveness.

The moral necessity of Atonement is guaranteed to the Christian heart by the fact that Christ has died. Some minds indeed, even independently of this, discover an avenue of approach in their own bitter experiences of sin, or—less securely—in well-verified moral postulates. But, if one's postulates are obscure and one's experience is defective, one finds oneself none the less faced by the tremendous fact of Christ's cross. St. Paul is a soul rich in postulates and rich in the most terrible as well as in the most blessed of experiences. But as a last resource he points us to the fact. Christ has died. Did Christ die "for nought"[1]—idly, superfluously? There for St. Paul is found the ultimate *reductio ad absurdum* of a theology without a thought of atonement. We are faced by a sharp dilemma. Either Christ died needlessly, in a tragic extravagance of suffering, or Christ died of moral necessity. What the moral necessity may be, and how the death of Christ meets

[1] Gal. ii. 21.

it—these are questions as difficult as they are urgent. Not only the humble productions of present-day theology but centuries of Christian thought have sought to reach some at least partially satisfying answer. Many errors have been committed by the way. Something, we trust, has been learned. But, succeed or fail, we must try our utmost; until man ceases to have a mind and a conscience, or until the sun of our Gospel day sets in the darkness of final despair. Apart from such disastrous victories of unreason or unbelief, we must desire, like the angels of God, to "look into" the sacred mystery of Christ's cross.

It deserves to be noted that the assertion of moral necessity is practically equivalent to asserting an assured fact. Any alleged act in history which is meaningless stands in danger of being dismissed as incredible. One says, "Christ died for us." A second adds, "Yes, He died for us, but there was no need that He should die." It will not be long before a third voice is heard, in crushing logic or in irresistible mockery, crying, "I don't believe that He died for us at all." It is true, the bare fact of Jesus' death on the cross will remain with us. Fanatics of the Rationalist Press may deny it—those strange light-armed skirmishers of unbelief; stranger far, a few ill-balanced Christian minds may echo the same denial; minds engrossed in the Christ idea and indifferent to the Christ fact. Apart from such exhibitions of caprice and prejudice the execution of our Lord remains among the external historical certainties. But not precisely the fact of Atonement! Not the fact that, in dying, Christ put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself! That will only be asserted by those who perceive, in clear vision or in dim, that a moral necessity underlay the tragedy of Calvary; so that Gentile cruelty did but carry into effect "the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God."

It may further be true that the affirmation of moral necessity may pass blamelessly into the less emphatic assertion of high moral expediency or seemliness. Between the position "It was needful[1] that Christ should suffer" and the position "It became the God of all to make the pioneer of our salvation perfect through sufferings"[2] there is no discord. Reverence, in or outside the Bible, may sometimes lead to a preference for the less challenging form of affirmation. Nevertheless, in other cases, the denial of moral necessity may be actuated by the lack of real Christian faith. And, while both are legitimate utterances of faith in the God of salvation, the affirmation of *necessity* is, we believe, more adequate to the facts and more instructive for the Christian mind.

It may further be true that the assertion of a "need be" for atonement—as John M'Leod Campbell styles it—is incomplete and, by itself, unsatisfying. Nor can we wonder if the impatient mind of Harnack speaks with contempt of such assertions of an undefined necessity.[3] Yet, however slight an instalment of theological wisdom it may be, to affirm necessity in Christ's death is something; it is a beginning. Notably, this affirmation plays its part—with Anselm, with Campbell, with Dale, and doubtless with many others—in criticism of moral-influence theories. The most vulnerable point in these latter is just this, that they are unable to indicate any necessity for Christ's dying. Hence they appear to be suicidal theories. They confidently undertake to destroy the great affirmation of an "objective" need for Atonement. But they fail to observe that the "subjective" impressiveness of suffering and dying "for

[1] Luke xxiv. 26 says nothing less than this. [2] Hebrews ii. 10.

[3] Harnack's own attempt at a positive construction is singularly unsatisfying. (See Essay V. in *The Atonement and Modern Religious Thought*.) But it is always easier to criticise than to construct.

others " disappears, if death and if suffering were needless.[1]

We may repeat the familiar criticism under two images. One must be apologised for because of its homeliness. Garments hang for safe keeping upon a peg. They may be rich and costly fabrics, and the peg which supports them may be plain metal or plainest wood; yet, if you value the garments, the peg also is important in your eyes. Should it be withdrawn, the delicate tissues must fall down in a dusty heap upon the floor. Just so we may conceive the relation between moral necessity of atonement in Christ's death, and commendation to us by that death of the love of God. There is no real exhibition of love unless the suffering through which love expresses itself was needful. But, if really needful *on whatever score*, willingly accepted suffering becomes a glorious, an appealing, a commanding, a heroic thing. Wise friends of the subjective appeal of Atonement will therefore surely prize some theory—imperfect perhaps, or ill defined—yet *some* theory of objective necessity for Atonement. Their interest may be chiefly in the love which God displays. Who has a moral right to be indifferent to the thought of the suffering love of God? But, when there is no need for love to express itself in suffering, is that which suffers love, or is it folly?

None the less, one must doubt whether the relation of clothes and peg, were it as dignified as it is unfortunately the reverse, could be a fitting parable of an Atonement whose suffering commends to us God's love. We cannot be satisfied to affirm a *legal* necessity for pain undertaken and endured by the *moral* excellence of redeeming love; nor yet an *antecedent* necessity for suffering, leading up to a *subsequent* display of mercy. There must be moral necessity

[1] It appears from Principal Franks' *History* to be quite a staple assertion of mediaeval Catholicism, that superfluous suffering "for us" binds us to deeper gratitude. What logic! And what taste!

for that which is undertaken and achieved by God's supreme moral goodness. The beginning and the end of Atonement must be of the same high quality. Clothes and peg are disparate things; mercy and justice—if justice is the right word here—are alike divine—justice the first manifestation to us of what God is; mercy, as is so truly affirmed in *Ecce Homo*, "a riper justice."

The other image we have in mind more nearly repeats the criticisms of subjectivism formulated by the great champions of the objective doctrine. Let us picture to ourselves two friends watching a torrent roaring by in dangerous flood. The younger and weaker man takes a careless step, overbalances himself, and is carried away by the stream; the other instantly plunges in after him, and by a miracle of good fortune recovers his friend before he has been carried over the waterfall to certain death. But, as will sometimes happen, the wonderful escape is counterbalanced by a tremendous loss. The rescuer's strength is exhausted, and, when he is drawn out of the whirlpool, he is dead or dying. What else can the rescued one say but, in very literal terms, "He loved me and gave himself for me"? Or, if there had been estrangement; or if the survivor had wronged his friend; how must his heart be pierced by what has happened! How must his life be commanded henceforward by gratitude and repentance!

Had there been no necessity for the dear dead friend to incur danger, everything must show differently. It is difficult to imagine anything so stagey, indeed so insane, as a friend saying to his fellow, "I love you deeply! I must give you proof of it! And therefore for your sake I will risk everything by leaping into this dangerous torrent." *For your sake*, he says; but the other is standing safely on the bank! What can the survivor think of so wasted a sacrifice? He can only say, with a pity half akin to con-

tempt, "He died for nothing."—It was not so that Christ died.

Again, one thinks it unsatisfactory that the necessity for Atonement should be confined to the preliminary removal of some obstacle hindering man's salvation. Perhaps the most conspicuous example of such a theory is found in the doctrine of ransom paid to the devil. The rights and claims of that personage are conceived to be a real preliminary barrier. They had to be removed out of the way. They are met, and fully satisfied, in the death of Christ, whose readiness to pay this price constitutes a grand proof of love. By throwing the necessity out of the sphere of the divine nature and assigning it to a diabolic, this particular theology of atonement is freed from the awkwardness of maintaining that God both demands and supplies ransom. The theory then may have incidental intellectual advantages; but morally it remains grotesque and insufferable.

A more familiar example of such a theory is found in certain types of the penal doctrine. Christ satisfied, not the devil's claims, but those of divine law and justice. Once this preliminary work was achieved, love had its unimpeded way. There is something good and true in such teaching. It is well to point to a probable or possible necessity, explaining the great fact of Christ's death. But we must conceive a more intimate connexion between the different elements of the Christian salvation, and between the different stages in its attainment. *All* things are of God, who hath reconciled us to Himself by Jesus Christ. The necessity for Atonement can neither be diabolic and undivine, nor yet legal and only half divine.

One may perhaps express the same point more clearly by saying that the necessity in our doctrine must articulate both ways—forwards as well as backwards. It may be natural to begin by asserting that the atoning death is

necessarily presupposed by human salvation; but we must go on to add that the atoning death necessarily results in human salvation. The doctrine of Christ's merit, so awkwardly adjusted to the accompanying assertion of His sacrifice or satisfaction, is one attempt to work out a positive as well as negative doctrine of Atonement. Perhaps a more exact illustration—hardly one more satisfying to Christian judgment—is found in the Calvinistic doctrine of the efficacy of redemption. Negatively, Christ's death was necessary for the ransom of the Elect. Positively, Christ's work unfailingly ensures the regeneration of the Elect, the perseverance in grace of the Elect, the eternal salvation of the Elect, and of course only of the Elect. In the end probably it will be found that the two-sided necessity for which we are pleading has no real justice done to it until we assert (3) as well as (2).[1] That Atonement necessarily secures that salvation to which it is necessary—this is not identical with the assertion that man's character as well as his standing is reconstituted by the passion of Christ. Yet the latter also is truth; and the latter truth safeguards the former. You cannot affirm that in Christ a new humanity is created unless you imply, in a true and worthy sense, the efficacy of redemption.

Once more, if differently the question of the necessity, and positive necessity, of Atonement is raised, when we proceed to ask whether Atonement was a thing morally necessary for God Himself. Anselm's theology of Atonement distinctly enough includes that assertion. Protestant Evangelicalism almost invariably shrinks from it; recently, e.g., Dr. Denney. And yet one cannot but hold that the statement expresses a truth. As the Old Testament teaches, God forgives and saves [Israel] "for His own name's sake." As the New Testament proclaims, God is

[1] *Supra.*

our Father; and again, God is love. The habitual tag of orthodoxy forty or fifty years since, that God "might justly" have left us to our ruin, is hardly to the point. God is just; we believe that to be profoundly true; but we do not adequately confess His name if we say, "God is justice," or even if we employ a synonym with loftier associations, and declare that "God is righteousness." Not even the further assertion that "God is loving" will suffice us—God *is love*. Therefore He would not have been true to His name—that name in which we trust—had He contented Himself with constitutional excuses for inaction. Atonement was necessary not merely in order that man might be truly man but that God might be God.

At the same time, one fully concurs with Dr. Denney up to a point. This is not the truth in which the Christian heart habitually lives. It will rather keep before it the other, logically the lower, sense of necessity in regard to Atonement —apart from this work and suffering of Christ's, I could not be saved. And there is the more need for keeping that thought in view, because, in the judgment of most consciences, dogmatic Universalism is false to the mind of Christ. We may dare to make the assertion that God could not but redeem mankind. But we must not individualise the assertion. No one surely can dare to say, "God could not but redeem *me*." If any soul advances to such a height of presumption, the affirmation of adoring faith, "God could not but provide a Lamb for a sacrifice," readily collapses into the dogma of non-Christian enlightenment, No atonement was needed by so loving a God, and none has been wrought out. "To trace redemption to its ultimate root in the divine Fatherliness, and to regard that Fatherliness as leaving no room for the need of redemption, are altogether opposite apprehensions of the grace of God."[1]

[1] Campbell, *Nature of the Atonement*, ed. v. p. xxi.

But, if we must not assert that we are universally saved *a priori*—saved if need be in spite of ourselves—still less can we reaffirm the dogma of a former orthodoxy, that we are all damned *a priori*. Mr. Mozley quotes with grave respect the translation of a German hymn [1]—

> Had Jesus never bled and died
> Then what could thee and all betide
> But uttermost damnation ?

Justice as well as mercy seems to vanish from God's universe if this is even a possible, even a thinkable, constitution of things. At its least and lowest, justice demands a chance—if only what is colloquially termed "a fighting chance." The orthodoxies of the past evaded that demand by alleging that Adam enjoyed a fair chance and forfeited eternal life for us as well as for himself. So that consequently—apart from electing grace, and from the redemption of God's elect by Jesus Christ—every soul of the human race since Adam is literally "damned into the world." It seems no great demand to present to the Father of mercies, if we ask that *that* shall not pass for truth ! Apart from Christ, no hope for man or for the world; but, apart from Christ, not the condemnation due to wilful choice of evil where the best was possible. A moral necessity in God's moral world has nothing whatever to do with a cold immoral fate, however camouflaged by theological word-spinning about Adam and the Fall. Profane indifference to Christ and profane libelling of God are equally evil things. And both alike are reduced to silence when we stand before the cross of Calvary. Christ died for us because His death was necessary as our only hope. Christ died for us because God is love.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

[1] One is not certain whether he absolutely endorses what he quotes.

THE NATURE OF THE ADVENT.

THE "return to Christ," the note of the freshest religious thought a generation ago, was really a migration from the epistles to the gospels, from the Apostles to the Evangelists. The older evangelicalism was full of Christ; but He was Paul's Christ. The newer teaching drew attention to the Jesus of Matthew and his comrades. Then, largely under the influence of the most popular theological book of the time—Sir John Seeley's *Ecce Homo*—the emphasis was laid on our Lord's ethical teaching. Christianity, we were told, is not the three creeds; it is the Sermon on the Mount. Later came a reaction in the re-discovery of Apocalyptic teaching. John Weiss and Schweitzer on the continent and Father Tyrrell among ourselves completely changed the perspective, putting this in the foreground, after it had been thrown into the background, almost entirely neglected. Some writers of the new school even used the term "interim ethics" for the practical precepts of the gospels, holding that these were but temporary directions for conduct in the time of waiting for the coming Kingdom of God. The extravagance of this theory has discredited it. But in spite of that defect it demands attention. It has indeed compelled us to look at weighty words which had been unpardonably ignored or explained away with outrageous disregard of intellectual honesty.

No doubt the fantastic and sensational interpreters of unfulfilled prophecy are largely to blame for the neglect of much of the most striking teaching of the gospels. Curiously enough this school was glaringly inconsistent, seeing that, after constructing elaborate allegorical interpretations of the Biblical language on all points but one,

it abandoned this method on that one point, namely the second Advent of Christ in clouds, which it expected literally as a physical, visible event. This was intelligible so long as heaven was thought of as localised in space just above a solid blue dome. But it is not only astronomy that has dispelled that illusion. A more spiritual conception of the unseen world has put it out of relations of space, points of the compass, and local distance. Even so mundane an experience as telepathy aids the changed conception in our thinking. A telepathic influence originating in New Zealand is felt as definitely in England as one from a person sitting in the same room as the receiver. This suggests a spiritual world independent of space. Then what will a *coming* of Christ, who is in the spiritual world, be ?

While such a question as this may well throw doubt on the literalism of the Second Adventists it cannot displace our Lord's own words on the subject, so emphatic, so often repeated. Assuredly we are not receiving a most important part of His message if we neglect them. Take such a saying as this : " When the Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory " (Matt. xxv. 31), or this, " Henceforth ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven " (Matt. xxvi. 64). It must be admitted that Jesus Christ used the current popular apocalyptic language which we find in such nearly contemporary works as *The Book of Enoch*, and *The Secrets of Enoch*, and that therefore we ought not to dwell upon the details of His imagery as we should dwell upon His distinctly original phrases; and it must be allowed that the evangelists or their sources may have sometimes unconsciously slipped into conventional phrases instead of reporting His utterances verbatim. But such considerations only touch secondary details, and, when we make full allowance for them, we can

no more afford to neglect our Lord's teaching on this subject than any other part of His utterances.

One point which a simple comparison of parallel gospel accounts makes clear may be noted here. The glorious advent of Christ and the coming of the Kingdom of God for which He bids us pray are intimately connected, if not identical. In Mark ix. 1 we read, "Verily I say unto you, There be some here of them that stand by, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the kingdom of God come with power"; but in Matthew xvi. 28 this is rendered, "There be some of them that stand here, which shall in no wise taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom"—in the one case the coming of "the Kingdom of God," in the other the coming of "The Son of Man in his Kingdom." Turning to Luke ix. 27, we find the third evangelist agreeing with Mark; he has "the Kingdom of God" in his parallel passage. Probably that was the original, and yet the two versions of the saying must have been regarded as virtually identical by the evangelists, or we should not have had them both in parallel reports of the same saying.

In studying the problems that here emerge there is one principle of exegesis which should be kept steadily in mind; much confusion has arisen from the neglect of it. This is that every saying of Christ should be interpreted according to what we have reason to believe was the Speaker's meaning at the time when He uttered it, quite apart from any ideas we may have as to its fitting into subsequent historical events. In other words, it is not sound exegesis to explain a prophecy by what we take to be its fulfilment. The only fair idea as to any fulfilment is to perceive that the event which we think to be such corresponds to a conception previously formed as to the meaning of the saying in its original presentation.

Now the difficulties that tempt the plain man to turn aside from this subject in despair are not only found in those theories of the fulfilment of the predictions which our modern prophetic writers have elaborated; they are also met with in the inherent obscurities and even seeming contradictions of those sayings themselves. We appear to have two very different ideas of the coming of Christ and the Kingdom, sometimes one occurring, sometimes the other; and it is not easy to reconcile them. (1) These events are to be looked for in the future—by far the most frequent conception. So we are to pray, "Thy kingdom come," and our Lord often refers to His own future coming. Yet the Kingdom is also sometimes spoken of as present when we read, "of such is the kingdom of heaven," "sons of the kingdom," "the kingdom of God suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force," "the kingdom of God is within (R.V. margin 'among') you." (2) They will come suddenly. Jesus speaks of "the day" and even "the hour." Nevertheless there is a gradual growth of the Kingdom—"first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear." So the small mustard seed grows into a plant as big as a tree, and the little leaven leavens a whole lump. (3) The coming of Christ is to be in clouds of glory surrounded with angels, and as "the lightening when it lighteneth out of the one part under the heaven, shineth unto the other part under heaven." And yet the process is to be hidden, secret, internal. So "the kingdom of God cometh not with observation." The seed grows secretly; the leaven is hidden in the dough; "the kingdom of God is within you"—the more probable meaning of the passage in Luke xvii. 21.

We cannot cut the Gordion-knot by pronouncing either of the seemingly contradictory series of sayings spurious. The documentary evidence is equally valid for both, and

in both cases it is as good as that for any other part of Christ's teachings in the gospels. Any question of genuineness would have to be based on internal evidence and a suggestion of inherent improbability. If, however, we were compelled to reject one or other of the two series on such a ground as this, there is no doubt which would have to be adjudged the more doubtful. That which presents the picture of a future, sudden, vast, visible catastrophic event is analogous to the scenes of contemporary Jewish Apocalyptic writing, adopting its imagery, even its phraseology. On the other hand, the conception of the secret invisible advent of the Kingdom as an internal spiritual experience, already begun in a small way and gradually developing, runs directly contrary to conventional ideas, so much so that when our Lord brought it forward it does not seem to have been understood; and though the evangelists faithfully report His sayings of this character, no reference to them is to be found in other parts of the New Testament, all the apocalyptic passages echoing the other character or the Jewish teaching with which it agrees. Evidently the teaching of Christ which strikes us as being novel and which was not sympathetically appreciated in His generation has the surest claim to be accounted genuine. Yet it is by far the smaller part of His teaching on the subject, only preserved in a few scattered fragments, perhaps so sparsely recorded because of its very difficulty and unpopularity—consisting merely of the more striking fragments which happened to escape neglect, in spite of the fact that they had not been understood and absorbed. These sayings, then, the canons of criticism would most assuredly pronounce to be genuine. Can we reject the other series, that of the popular apocalyptic style ? Not only, as has been pointed out, has this equally good documentary support, but it contains by far the larger part of our Lord's teaching on

the subject. It would be indeed a ruthless criticism that tore all this out of our gospels. Even if this "little Apocalypse" in Mark xiii. were treated as a bit of Jewish writing mistaken for a report of the teachings of Jesus—a theory for which there is not a particle of evidence except its general resemblance to contemporary apocalypses—we should not have our problem solved. There is so much in other parts of all three synoptic gospels of the same spirit and style of language. We must admit that J. Weiss, Schweitzer, and Father Tyrrell were right in finding here not only real teachings of Jesus, but vital teachings, often reiterated and strongly emphasised.

Plainly we must accept both presentations of the subject as genuine, in spite of all the difficulties we may feel in reconciling them.

May we find our solution of the enigma in the conclusion that we have here two stages of our Lord's teaching, that He first presented us with one view of the subject and then superseded this by a later different view? That He who grew in wisdom and grace during His youth may have gone on advancing during His manhood and even after He had received the Spirit of God in His baptism is not to be denied. There is much profound suggestiveness in that striking book entitled *The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Jesus*. But we have no evidence of so great a change as is here suggested to us with regard to any other branch of our Lord's teachings. Moreover there is one insuperable objection to this. The more original, striking, and spiritual conception of the Kingdom of God is found in our Lord's earlier teaching, that of His Galilean ministry; and the apocalyptic element of the Jewish style is most full and pronounced towards the end, in the last week. There is no reason to think that the Synoptics are here in error, misplacing the order of the teaching. It is true that critics hold that in the

fourth gospel we have late teaching put back in the early part of the story. But the Synopties are more progressive and (*pace* Papias) Mark appears to be careful in the matter of historical order; yet Mark, quite as much as his companion evangelists, gives prominence to the apocalyptic teaching at the end of the story. Now to predicate a change from the original and spiritual conception of the coming of the Kingdom back to the more conventional and external conception is psychologically unreasonable.

We are driven then to the conclusion that we must accept both forms of our Lord's teaching about the coming of the Kingdom and His own Advent as permanent elements in His view of the subject. Is it impossible to reconcile them?

Two things are unmistakable. (1) Jesus certainly spoke of His own coming or that of the Kingdom—the two things we saw are identical—as certain to happen during the lifetime of some at least of His hearers (Mark ix. 1; xiii. 30). (2) He clearly identified this double Advent—of Himself and the Kingdom—with the overthrow of Jerusalem, e.g. prayer that it be not in the winter, flight to the mountains, one on the housetop not even to go into his house for anything (Matt. xxiv. 17–20), and definite statements about the destruction of the temple (Mark xiii. 2). How can this be associated with the other teachings which we have been considering, especially those setting forth the hidden, secret, spiritual movement of the Kingdom?

The solution I would suggest is to be found in a revised conception of an "Advent," or "coming," either of the Son of Man or of the Kingdom of God. What will it be for Christ to come again if He is already here—present wherever two or three are gathered together in His name, always present with His disciples till the end of the world while they are on their missionary errand? and what will it be for the Kingdom of God to come if it is already

present within us, and already being possessed by the child-like? We are brought back to a point touched on earlier in this article. We are not to think of the coming of the Kingdom and of Christ in the clouds of heaven as physical movements in space, and this for two reasons, first because they are already present, inwardly and spiritually present; secondly, because both being spiritual, they are not subject to space conditions, to movements of location. Instead of that we are led to think of *an effective manifestation of the presence and power of Christ and the Kingdom.* (1) It is a manifestation. The hidden becomes apparent. That which had been working inwardly and secretly now works externally and visibly. (2) This is effective; it is dynamic; great things are done. It is not merely a revelation; it is a judgment and a deliverance—terrible, yet glorious and radiant with blessedness. With that inspired insight which is the secret of genuine foresight Jesus Christ diagnosed the fatal condition of Jerusalem and foretold its doom as to come within the lifetime of some of His hearers. This happened forty years later; then, to repeat the vivid language of oriental imagery, He came in clouds of glory surrounded with the heavenly host, pronounced and executed sentence on the guilty city, and delivered His oppressed Church from its cruel persecutors. But if we can say that of the one fulfilment which our Lord definitely indicated, we may conclude that the same principles of judgment and deliverance, which were here effectively manifested, will always work the same results when the same conditions are present. The inward and spiritual have the nature of the eternal. The author of our fourth gospel saw this when he dropped the apocalyptic imagery of a great catastrophe altogether, and represented the judgment as a present process. But the catastrophe has its place in history. As it was with Jerusalem so our Book of the Reve-

lation represented it as to happen with Rome; and three hundred years later Augustine saw the judgment on that city accomplished and the glory of the City of God beginning to supersede it. Have we not seen some such coming of Christ in clouds of glory with His angels of judgment in the doom and ruin of the anti-christian military despotism of our own age?

These events are awful warnings to us. If we in Britain turn aside from the principles of the heavenly Kingdom for imperialism and commercial greed, what other fate can we expect? The axe is always lying at the root of the trees ready to be slung against those that are bearing evil fruit. It is an ever present power; its manifestation may be looked for as recurrent. Happily this is not the end. That is not doom and destruction, but life and blessedness —the coming of the Kingdom through judgment to the creation of the new heaven and the new earth, the glory of the New Jerusalem with its tree of life and leaves for the healing of the nations. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.

WALTER F. ADENEY.

THE COMMUNIST PRODUCTION OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT.

NEARLY two years ago I wrote a few notes upon "The Communist Significance of the Logia." Incidentally, the opinion was hazarded that communism in some form was characteristic of the Christian Church, and that so far as this element was lacking, the Church lost something of its catholic, its universal appeal.[1] But communism, in any form, conflicts with the principle of unrestricted competition. And so far as men or women allow themselves to be dominated by the notion of conflict, to that extent,

[1] EXPOSITOR, June, 1917.

the notion of communism becomes hard to grasp and harder to put into practice. The economic struggle which is involved in some applications of free trade, and the class conflict of which Marx was the prophet involve, perhaps, an intrinsic contradiction with the communism, as it is set forth in the evangelic tradition.

Now communism in spiritual things is called communion —the same Greek word *κοινωνία* serving for both. Like wisdom, it can be studied either in its "works" or in its "children."[1] For wisdom itself is a social function, and has something communist about it. At times of intellectual and spiritual exaltation not only do large ideas become the common possession of the multitude, but the power of expressing those ideas is also widely spread, and thus the question of authorship can scarcely be solved in the same way as when inspiration is more sporadic in its distribution. The personages, some of them humble, with whom we are now engaged, seem to participate unconsciously in a gracious inspiration which haunted the Christian ateliers in which they worked.

The growth of the Greek New Testament, from its first beginnings, towards the majestic body of literature which in the end it included, has been studied in the manuscript tradition with but little reference to the human agents, the children of wisdom, by whom this collection of the works of wisdom was brought into actual being. In the following pages, therefore, the attempt is made to transfer our interest from the work to the worker: the scribe, the shorthand writer, the engrosser. Instead of so many hands —in the later applications an odious phrase—we shall speak of the scribes and their fellow-craftsmen. As we do so, the figures of Tertius, Origen, Pamphilus, step forward from the past. It is from them, and not from an impersonal

[1] Variant reading, Matthew xi. 19.

manuscript tradition, that we receive the Greek Gospel. They worked under conditions that were not those of modern commerce. The Greek Gospel ran its course apart from the flourishing book trade of the early Empire. But it was no unskilled labour that produced the uncial manuscripts. Brought to these masterpieces as to a test, the unreal character of some current speculation, about communism, such as that of Marx, is unpleasantly conspicuous. "We know," says this rash communist, "that the value of each commodity is determined by the quantity of labour expended on and materialised in it." [1] In other words, one manuscript is as good as another of the same size, which has involved an equal quantity of labour! For Marx, and his following, therefore, our whole investigation is meaningless. His unspiritual communion has no room for literary creation. From such a point of view the beauty of words is invisible, and here the beauty of words is precisely the garment in which the spirit clothes itself.

The professional scribes, for example, to whom we owe the Sinaitic and Vatican codices, have performed a service not only to the Christian Church, but, by their delicate sense of words, to literature, a service which is not always recognised at its complete value. The faithful transcription of the documents placed before their eyes reaches a high degree of accuracy, and was only made possible by a technical training based upon a technical tradition. The accuracy of these two great manuscripts may be measured in two ways. On the one hand they retain the Greek language as it was spoken in the first century, that is, in the books of the New Testament. (The transcription of the books of the Old Testament is another matter and lies outside our present inquiry.) This positive merit, this faithful reproduction of the primitive text,

[1] *Capital*, tr. 166.

carries with it a second and negative merit. The two codices are almost free from the changes which successive editors introduced into the primitive tradition. Much has been written about the genealogy of manuscripts as though they descended one from the other directly and without the intervention of human handiwork. The scribe, with all his rich endowment, has been ignored, or where account has been taken of him, he has rarely received his complete dues.

The fidelity of these primitive scribes is no isolated circumstance. It is but one stage in a long tradition of craftsmanship. On the one hand it reaches back through the methods of the Alexandrian scriptoria to the careful Egyptian scribes of the remoter past.[1] On the other, the later Byzantine writers and illuminators of manuscripts handed down the Hellenistic tradition. We have therefore in the professional scribe of the early Christian Church a skilled workman who, as such, helped to maintain that purity of tradition which, from other motives, was sought also within the Church. In contrast with the East, the Western scribes allowed themselves more liberty. To take a late example: "a Byzantine MS. of the fourteenth century may differ in power and quality from a book dating from the tenth: but the two will be nearer to each other in spirit than Western MSS. of the same two periods."[2] It is illuminating, indeed, to find in the pages of a history of art this confirmation of the results to which along quite different lines Westcott and Hort had already gone.[3]

Let us now, with Eusebius[4] for guide, enter the scriptorium of Origen. Even if a century and a half has elapsed since the books of the New Testament were first committed to writing, the methods of the scribes have not changed. In the scriptorium Origen had at his disposal shorthand writers

[1] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, tr., 329.
[2] Dalton, *Byzantine Art*, 436. [3] *Introduction*, 122. [4] *H.E.* vi. 23.

relieving each other at set times, ordinary scribes and calligraphers or, as we should say, engrossers. These last were girls specially trained. In passing, we may note, with some respect, the tradition that the Codex Alexandrinus was written by a woman. We must therefore think of Origen dictating his commentaries to the shorthand writers, who, in turn, handed their notes to the scribes for transcription, and then ultimately of the corrected transcripts being handed over to the girls who engrossed them. In the light of this, we can understand also how Eusebius carried out the production of fifty Greek Bibles in accordance with the commission of Constantine. But this wholesale manufacture of manuscripts was the exception and not the rule. At any rate, even in this case, there cannot be found two manuscripts which are exactly alike.

Where did the differences arise? If we may believe the numerous complaints which have been handed down, the corrector, διορθώτης, was to blame. We must suppose a rough transcript to be prepared for the engrosser, and that in this rough transcript the corrector incorporated what seemed to be the necessary alterations. In the preparation of such a transcript it was customary to employ, for the purposes of comparison, two or more copies of the original when they were accessible. The procedure of Origen, as he collected the materials for his great edition of the Old Testament, exhibits to us on a large scale what happened also to some degree whenever the manuscripts of part or whole of the New Testament were produced.

There was one difference, however, between such a general procedure as Origen's and the isolated production of a new manuscript. The labours of Origen upon the sacred text aroused the suspicion of his contemporaries. Isolated expressions were taken from his numerous commentaries and from them were gathered the grounds for charging

him with various heresies. The hostility of Demetrius the patriarch of Alexandria pursued Origen even in his exile, and a synod of bishops degraded him from the presbyterate. It was scarcely less perilous to tamper with the Old Latin versions. Jerome enjoyed the protection of Pope Damasus but even he was compelled to repudiate the authority of Origen to whom he owed so much. Augustine, in turn, quoted Origen for his learning and condemned him for his opinions. Even the cautious procedure of Jerome could not save him from the charge of heresy. Augustine gave him a friendly warning. We might delay a moment to sympathise with Erasmus. As we come to recent times the violence with which in some quarters the revision of Westcott and Hort has been assailed may suggest to us that the charge of heresy is the material accompaniment of work upon the sacred text.

Let us now retrace our steps. The New Testament manuscripts of Hesychius and Lucianus were ignored by Jerome on the ground that they contained interpolations.[1] And he appealed for proof to the evidence of the versions. It is impossible, in the face of this definite statement of Jerome, to follow Von Soden and identify with the text of Hesychius the Neutral and Alexandrian texts of Westcott and Hort. So far are ℵ and B from showing traces of revision on any considerable scale that for reasons which will shortly appear they may be taken to represent a text of all most repugnant to the professional reviser. If the evidence for the revisions attributed to Hesychius and Lucianus becomes insignificant when reduced to its true dimensions, we are excluded by Origen himself from attributing to him anything like a revision of the New Testament. "In exemplaribus autem Novi Testamenti, hoc ipsum me posse facere sine periculo non putavi."[2]

[1] *Ep. ad Damasum.* [2] Qu. Davidson, *Biblical Criticism*, 525.

Over against Origen in the East there stood a Western school. Whether at Rome, Alexandria, Caesarea, or at Bethlehem, we find prevailing the conditions of a corporate, a university life. Origen, Eusebius, Jerome worked in an atmosphere of sacred study, which was also one of secular learning. The spiritual exaltation of the early Church was also, in the second place, an intellectual exaltation. The common life of the university has an affinity with the common life of the Church. When, therefore, Theodotus of Byzantium founded his school at Rome, he could combine Euclid, Aristotle, Galen—the best secular knowledge of the time—with the study of the text of the scriptures.[1] From his school there proceeded, by the hands of his disciples, a large number of manuscripts. And since, along with the criticism of the Old Testament, these scholars busied themselves with the criticism of the New, we may attribute to them the production of copies of the books of the New Testament. From the scattered references of Hippolytus and Epiphanius to the textual criticism of this school, the followers of Theodotus do not seem to have gone beyond a certain preference for adoptionist readings. Now it is precisely to this time and place that, for independent reasons, we may refer the Latin and Syriac versions. The chief passage in which the evangelic text seems to have suffered modification under adoptionist influences is Matthew i. 16. And the Old Latin, and the old Syriac manuscripts range themselves here in a kind of unity which cannot be accidental. Fortunately, it is not necessary for our purpose to attempt a solution of the difficulties that might be raised here. But we can at least draw this inference from the uncial ⊙ and the Ferrar group, and the Armenian and old Syriac versions, that scribes in all parts of the Christian Church faithfully copied what was before their eyes, and

[1] Eus. *H.E.* v. 28.

that they were not turned aside from their task even by the presence of passages which were apparently at variance with the doctrines in which they had been trained. The attestation of the reading ἐκλεκτός is so strong, John i. 34, that we can measure the range of the adoptionist influence. The thorough-going dislocation of the gospels by Tatian presents us with another revised text which, for a time, was widely circulated both in its Greek, and in its Syrian, form. Here, again, the special form of text is associated not merely with an individual, but with a school. Tatian —in view of the general Syrian acceptance of the Diatessaron—may be regarded as one of the founders of that Syrian school which was one of the glories of the Eastern Church. The labour involved in the production and circulation of the Diatessaron demanded the co-operation of many scribes. More than this, we must think of Tatian as one of the earliest persons to whom the idea came of uniting in one the separate books of the New Testament. At any rate he carried one step further the beginning made by Marcion. For the presence of traces of Tatian's influence in the Western text, we are indebted, once more, to the fidelity of scribes in the presence of unusual readings.

When we turn to the activity of Marcion, we must not think of him as the heretic trying to foist false documents upon the Church, so much as the scholar anxious to provide his followers with a reliable edition of the scriptures of the new Church. It has been customary to emphasise the heretical character of Marcion's work upon the text of the New Testament. But the agreement of many readings attributed to Marcion with the readings of good manuscripts should warn the student to forget for a time the heretic in the scholar.[1] And so we come to the standpoint of Origen

[1] The gloss of Marcion upon the second petition of the Lord's Prayer: "Let thy holy spirit come upon us and purify us," is a noble interpre-

that very few persons tampered to a serious degree with the text of the gospels.

II.

We have found reason, therefore, to acquit the scribes of the charges which were brought against them by their contemporaries. But we have only cleared the ground for an accusation which to my mind is of a more serious character. As the Christian Church made its conquests not only among the proletariate and the slave world, but among the educated classes, its sacred books came under the influence of the prevailing literary tendencies. Even Jesus contemplates the case of the educated man who becomes a disciple of the kingdom.[1] Just as the dialect of Galilee yielded to that of Jerusalem, so the vernacular Greek of the Gospels and Epistles was changed by the later scribes into the pseudo-Attic of Athens and the travelling sophists. The real corruption of the evangelic text began when it lost the idioms and the vocabulary of popular speech, and began to be conformed to the artificial style of the grammarians. For this change it was not the engrossers who deserved blame, but the scribes who prepared the text which the engrossers copied. In fact, the very ignorance of the engrossers as they erred upon the side of the general idiom held back a little the barrier which was being erected between the common understanding and the authorised text. In the great uncials, and here and there in the cursives, we can still catch the living utterance of the primitive record. Justin, Marcion and Tatian brought over with them into the Christian Church something worse than an

tation of the coming of the kingdom. But how much we owe to the scribe of the cursive 700 who refrained from harmonising his text with the received text! The one certain interpolation of the Vatican Codex πνεῦμα ἅγιον δεδομένον John vii. 39 is of the same kind.

[1] Matthew xiii. 52.

occasional heresy, namely, the unconscious prejudices of the sophist. And the school of Theodotus at Rome, and of Clement—himself a pagan by birth—and of Origen at Alexandria left traces upon the traditional text far more dangerous than an occasional dogmatic modification. One exception must indeed be recorded. Tatian, while availing himself of some of the sources of Greek rhetoric, could shake himself free of the trammels of style.[1] But in the main it remains true that the simple and unaffected manner of the New Testament writers was largely overcast by the pedantic affectations of Byzantine Greek.

And this arose to some extent out of the education of the scribe. Just as in ancient Egypt there were schools for scribes, so in later Greek times there grew up a tradition which was embodied in textbooks. Not, however, until the first Christian century, at the very time when the earliest Christian literature came into being, was the first Greek treatise upon the art of writing letters composed.[2] But unfortunately the reduction of letter-writing to an art brought with it the separation of the letter from the style of conversation. "I am accustomed," says Cicero, "to compose my letters in the language of every day." A Greek writer, in the same spirit, maintained that the style of a dialogue and of a letter should be the same. But this sensible view was attacked by the new writers. Philostratus, a contemporary of Origen, demanded in a letter something more Attic in style than the language of conversation.[3]

Deissmann, therefore, in vindicating for the Greek New Testament the vivacious style of daily life, has opened a

[1] Nothing hinders effective propaganda so much as an "academic" manner. It would surprise many otherwise well informed persons, if they learnt how far the working man is repelled by conventional turns of speech.

[2] *Demetrius et Libanius*, Weichert, pref. xi. [3] *Op. cit.* pref. xii.

new chapter in textual criticism. He has furnished a criterion by which to measure the distance of the transcript from the autograph. Those manuscripts, other things being equal, are the more faithful which retain the most primitive turns of speech.

Now from our present outlook we can disregard, for the moment, those variant readings which arise from dogmatic considerations. They are very few indeed, and whether we admit them or reject them, they do not affect the general balance of the New Testament considered as a historical record. But if we try to brush aside the attempts to smoothen out the New Testament vernacular, if we would place ourselves in the position of those amanuenses who, like Tertius, committed to writing the very words of an apostle as they first vibrated in the air, our interest is enlarged. The thousands of grammatical variations which have been neglected as meaningless regain their importance.

We are in presence of a revolution in the method of textual criticism. The standard of orthography and of grammar is no longer that of the Atticists, but of the non-Attic writers. Instead of suspecting in the Western text the orthography of common life with Westcott and Hort,[1] we must suspect all deviations from the vernacular and non-classical orthography. So far as the Western MSS. exhibit the "orthography of common life," they are faithful to the primitive text. The "instinct of popular adaptation" after the first century would be rather to remove the traces of the vernacular than to introduce usages condemned by the neo-Attic revival.

The reviser or revisers to whom we owe the Greek text of the Codex Bezae, have left traces rather in the vocabulary than in spelling and accidence and syntax. To that extent, this manuscript presents a special case. I propose

[1] *Introduction, App.* 141.

to show that this text has been modified by the introduction of synonyms intended to give a more Attic turn to the Greek, and so the primitive orthography of D sets in higher relief the Atticist modification of the vocabulary.

In substituting *ἁπλούστατος* for *ἀκέραιος* Matthew x. 16, and *ἐπιστρέφω* for *ἀνακάμπτω* Luke x. 1, the reviser rejects words which are found in Herodotus and the tragedians in the corresponding significance, but are rare in Attic prose writers. When he writes *ταχειον* (*sic*) for *εὐκοπώτερον* Mark x. 25, or *κατα τυχα* for *κατὰ συγκυρίαν* Luke x. 31, he replaces later forms by familiar classical usage. Similarly he puts *χρόνος* for *καιρός* Luke iv. 13, and *διδάσκαλος* for *ἐπιστάτης* Luke v. 5. He removes the single occurrence of *παιδιόθεν* with the help of *ἐκ παιδός* Mark ix. 21.

In a further series of examples the motive of alteration seems to be the desire to furnish easily understood equivalents for words with a special reference. *Πνεῦμα* is glossed by *δαιμόνιον ἀκάθαρτον* Luke iv. 33. The Jewish measure *βάτος* is rendered *κάδος* Luke xvi. 66. *Κῆνσος*, Mark xii. 14, yields to the more precise *ἐπικεφάλαιον*. *Οὐρανός* is replaced by *ἀήρ* Matthew xvi. 3. *Σχιζομένους* (sc. *οὐρανούς*) gives place to *ἠνυγμένους* (*sic*) Mark i. 10. The parallel Matthew xxviii. 8 is not needed to explain the substitution of *φόβος* for *τρόμος* in Mark xvi. 8. *Τηρεῖν* for *κρατεῖν* Mark vii. 4, and *παραινεῖν* for *παρακαλεῖν* Luke iii. 18 are the scholarly equivalents of every-day phrases. The substitution of *ὀχετός* for *αφεδρών* Mark vii. 19 has probably a medical significance, *ὀχετός* denoting the intestinal canal.

In nearly all these readings the Codex Bezae stands alone. And it is not difficult to infer from them the temperament of the individual to whom they suggested themselves. He sought to produce a text which should commend itself to educated readers by the propriety of its diction, but should also be accurate and even scientific in the presentation of

facts. I will confess that this little analysis has raised my estimate of his character. But the difficulty is only pushed one stage further back. Is he to be credited with all the peculiarities of D, its interpolations, transpositions and omissions ? At any rate if we may judge by the isolated readings, there were probably good reasons for most of those individual traits which give the Cambridge codex its distinctive character. At the same time there is no other MS. which diverges so much from the general run of tradition. It is the combination of grammatical fidelity with startling alternative readings which constitutes the special problem of this text.

But the method which the reviser of D employs in the substitution of more accurate terminology, is found also on larger scale in his recasting of obscure and confused constructions. If we take the examples of conflate readings chosen by Westcott and Hort, Mark viii. 26, ix. 38, 49 ; Luke ix. 10, xi. 54, xii. 18, xxi. v. 53, we find that D stands practically alone among the Greek MSS. in providing the non-Neutral part of the conflate readings. Two of the eight given instances are of the same order with those which we have already studied, *τὰ γενήματα* for *τὸν σῖτον καὶ τὰ ἀγαθά*,[1] and *αἰνοῦντες*[2] for *εὐλογοῦντες*. The remaining six instances where the construction of the sentence is changed are in harmony with the principles to be inferred from the substitution of synonyms in D. The resulting text is of a more literary character, more in the manner of the great traditions of Greek authorship, more calculated to satisfy the demands of those who were in the neo-Attic movement. Yet it retains the vernacular in many respects. And to that extent, the text of D is a compromise.

[1] D is influenced by the LXX.

[2] The examples of *εὐλογέω* in Milligan, *Vocab. of G. T.*, leave it possible that *εὐλογέω* was regarded by D as a synonym ("praise") for *αἰνέω*.

The method of D, therefore, is in partial harmony with that of the school of Theodotus at Rome. But there is no need to press this resemblance. We can include all the special facts before us under the head of what may be called a literary revision. We are in the presence of the trained Greek scholar at work on the production of a text which, along with its popular character, shall satisfy as far as possible the prevalent canons of style. Compared with the methods of the Alexandrian school, we may mark off the tendency of D as rhetorical. We thus set D against its proper background, the rise of the orator to prominence in the early empire. Let us personify the tendencies which we are comparing. On the one hand there are the great Apologists, Justin, Tatian in the East, Cyprian and Tertullian in the West, bringing, as we have seen, into the Christian Church the training they had obtained as pagan sophists. On the other hand, there are the Christian students like Origen and Eusebius to whom rhetoric makes less appeal. And our distinction is confirmed by the nature of the local versions. The native Egyptian Christians furnish a text which comes near to the Neutral text, to the two great codices with which we started. The Syriac and Latin versions which originated at Rome in the time of Theodotus support D in its isolation.

III

But there is one character which marks the whole of the texts we have been studying. Until the time of Constantine the books of the New Testament could not, in any real sense, be said to have been published. From the moment when Christianity was regarded as an illicit society, its special documents tended to be withdrawn from public knowledge. Apart from this external influence, there were also tendencies within the Church which made for the same

result. The withdrawal from the world involved a suspicion, a condemnation, of the world. "The word of God shall not come forth from thee where they are unclean." [1] If the Lord's Prayer was treated as something secret, it is obvious that the first and third gospels cannot have been generally accessible. Again, the poverty of the Church must have prevented anything like a general possession of the whole of the books, even of the canon. Paul, himself, must be thought of as owning but one or two books of the Old Testament. In the same way a single gospel probably represented the library of the private Christian. The local Church was, among its other functions, the means by which the sacred writings became accessible to the community, by means of the public reading. Hence the rise of the lector or ἀναγνώστης as a special official of the Church comes along with the growth of the New Testament canon at the end of the second century.

The circumstances which we have been enumerating had one beneficial result. They involved necessarily a selection from among the many competing forms of the Gospel, a selection which is alluded to in a misunderstood passage of the fourth gospel, John xxi. 25.[2] In its usual interpretation the closing verse is offensive to some ordinary readers, and Tischendorf omits it from the text on the ground of a difference in the hand of the scribe of the Sinaiticus. The verse should run: "There are also many other things that Jesus did, which, *if they are written* separately, I do not think the world itself *will take in* [3] the books that are being written." By the world we should understand not the world of space, but—by a frequent Johannine usage

[1] *Ep. of Barnabas*, xix.

[2] It is impossible to translate ἐὰν γράφηται and χωρήσειν, "should be written" and "would contain" as though the supposition was unreal.

[3] χωρεῖν is used in this sense Matthew xix. 11. Origen also uses it in the sense of "understanding."

—the world of human beings, *tout le monde*. And by "take in" we may understand "have room for in their minds." In other words, the writer of this verse is apprehensive of the multiplication beyond measure of written gospels. In this he follows Luke. But whereas John has in view the practical difficulties of indiscriminate publication, Luke is rather concerned with the spread of inaccurate versions, and wrote his gospel in direct competition with them. John seeks to check superfluous endeavours in the same field. Luke announces himself the editor of an accurate text. He contemplates a state of things in which there should only be one gospel. Luke, like Matthew, took the gospel of Mark, adding a preface and an epilogue. While Matthew's further contribution consisted in the Sermon on the Mount, Luke inserted the long section ix. 51—xviii. 14. In other words, both Matthew and Luke offer us a revised and interpolated gospel. The general dependence upon Mark may be taken as established. And their relation to Mark and to each other may be described as that of editors revising the text of a manuscript. The modifications which Luke introduces are divergent from direct speech, and represent the transition from *oral* to *written* language.[1] But this transition involved even in Luke's case a slight severance from the vernacular. There are striking parallels between Luke and the scribe of D.

But Luke must not be taken as confirming the authenticity of all his predecessors. By a careless reading of his opening words he may be thus misunderstood, Luke i. 2. We must remove the comma after λόγου, and separate the opening clause from what follows. "Since many have attempted to put on record a history about the things fulfilled among us, it seemed good to me also, following out

[1] We thus return to the standpoint defined, Expositor, April, 1915, p. 337.

everything from the beginning (as those who from the first were witnesses and servants of the word handed it down to us), to write accurately and in an orderly manner, so that you may know the reliable character of the instructions which you received." Unless Luke had access to special sources of knowledge, it is hard to see where he could find justification for adding to the number of the already existing gospels. But Luke regarded himself not only as an editor but as a scribe, or at least as employing a scribe. The term *γράψαι* must be emphasised Luke i. 3.

IV.

Paul, on one occasion at least, the writing of the Epistle to the Galatians, was his own calligrapher or engrosser. "You see with what large characters I have written to you in my own hand." Unnecessary difficulties have been raised about the word *πηλίκοις*. Paul is referring to the familiar distinction between the large hand employed in official correspondence and the usual cursive hand. The natural meaning of the reference, is that in this case Paul did not employ an amanuensis. That the Church was not at a loss for scribes is shown by the occurrence of the name of one of them, Tertius, Romans xvi. 22, "I Tertius, the scribe of the epistle, salute you in the Lord." With *ὁ γράψας* we may compare *ὁ γράφων*, the scribe.[1] The document from which this parallel is taken is written in a fine uncial hand of a literary type, while the signatures of various officials are cursively written. The illustration gives a fair idea of what a letter from Paul would look like : the main body in the larger hand and the rough signatures at the end. With *γράψας* the name applied by Tertius to himself, we may compare from a Coptic papyrus of the fourth century[2] the invocation in Greek of peace upon the scribe

[1] P. Oxy. II. ccxlvi. pl. vii.
[2] B.M. MS. Orient. 7594, ed. Budge, Pl. iv.

and the lector, *ειρηνη τω γραψαντι και τω αναγινωσκοντι.*

In one case probably Paul issued something like a small edition of an epistle. The Epistle to the Ephesians was, we may suppose, a general epistle or encyclical.

We have thus traced with scarcely a break the production of the manuscripts of the Greek New Testament almost to the very autographs. The shared inspiration which marks the substance of the record may, as we have seen, be caught also at humbler levels, those of the scribe and other workers, the reviser, the corrector. Let us for a moment recognise in these craftsmen the strangely directed success with which their work was done. In some moods we find comfort in this undoubted presence of the divine in the workshop. "Raise the stone and thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and there am I." If spiritual communion rises to its highest in the loss of self, communism is best found in the beautiful and, for the most part, anonymous production of objects commonly enjoyed. And nowhere is there such a rich treasure as in the manuscripts of the Greek New Testament.

FRANK GRANGER.

SOME NEW TESTAMENT NOTES.

ANOTHER difficult passage is Romans iii. 9, "Are we in worse position (*προεχόμεθα*) than they? No, in no wise; for we before laid to the charge of both Jews and Greeks that they are all under sin" (R.V.). "Do we excuse ourselves?" (R.V.M.). "Are we (Jews) better than they (Gentiles), A.V. "Habemus quicquam prae gentibus?" (Bengel). *προεχέσθαι* is taken as a middle form by Grimm and as meaning "Antecello in commodum meum." Now St. Paul evidently is asking a question which he proceeds to answer in the following words. What presumption does the statement that all, both Jews and Gentiles, are under sin refute? Surely this, that the former have special privileges. They have nothing of the kind now that they have lost their lead in the race. The rendering "Do we retain the lead?" gives a due sense to the middle form *προεχόμεθα*, wrongly taken in passive by R.V., and gives a lively and metaphorical meaning, which is also suggested by the words of the Psalm which follows, "They have all turned away from the course (*ἐξέκλιναν*): their feet are swift to shed blood" (Ps. xiv. 3). For this use of *προέχω* see *Iliad* 23, 325, *τὸν προὔχοντα δοκεύει*, he watches the leading competitor (charioteer). In line 454 *προὔχοντα* is used of the leading horse in a race.[1]

In Acts xviii. 21, St. Paul used another expression, *ἀνακάμψω*, which may conceal a similar metaphor. R.V. renders "I will return." The exact meaning is "I shall make my turning back to you." St. Paul may have thought of the original meaning of the word, i.e. of the turning

[1] Expressions suggestive of racing may be seen in Galatians v. 7. "Ye were running well, who hindered (*ἐνέκοψεν*) you?" The verb is explained by Lightfoot as breaking up a road to make it impassable. This would more seriously interfere with a chariot's progress than a runner's. *κοπτείν* is used of striking a horse, *Il.* x. 513. *ἀνέκοψε* would mean "struck you back in your course."

round the καμπτήρ in the course and coming home again. Eurip., *Iph. in Au.* 224, describes horses turning round the καμπαί δρόμων, the turnings of the course. The Ephesians would have appreciated the allusion and would have been gratified by the insinuation that Jerusalem, which St. Paul had to visit, was only to be the καμπτήρ or turning point in his course (δρόμος) and that Ephesus was to be the final goal.

Plato said, " the horse that shares in vice is heavy (βρίθει) weighing down (βαρύνων) the chariot to the earth " (247 B). Cf. Wisdom ix. 5," The mortal body weighs down (βαρύνει) the soul and the earthly tabernacle (γεώδες σκῆνος) bears down (βρίθει) the mind." " In this tabernacle (σκῆνος) we groan, being weighed down (βαρούμενοι)," wrote St. Paul (2 Cor. v. 4). Similarly the soul in the *Phaedrus* (248 C) is unable to maintain its high quest when " weighed down (βαρυνθεῖσα), being filled with evil." These passages serve to illustrate each other, and if there is no dependence of one on the other, they bear witness to the wide prevalence of these phrases and ideas in the days of St. Paul.

The writer to the Hebrews also employs this figure of *weight* : " laying aside, or putting off, every weight " (ὄγκος, ἀ.λ.), xii. 1. ὄγκος occurs frequently in sense of bulk and weight in Platonic writings; e.g. *Epinomis* 983, where it is used several times of the weight of the stars. This writer adds another figure to describe the hampering nature of sin—the sin " which doth so easily beset us " R.V. (" doth closely cling to us " or " is admired of many" R.V.M.). εὐπερίστατος. What is the meaning of this ? Westcott gives suggestions, (1) easy to be put off ; (2) well-befriended ; (3) readily besetting, (4) easily contracted. The idea of dress suggested by ἀποθέμενοι (cf. Acts vii. 58, ἀπέθεντο τὰ ἱμάτια) seems to be carried on. The word is a compound after the style of many Pauline forms, e.g. εὐμετάδοτος, εὐπάρεδρος,

and appears to be an expanded form of ὁ στατὸς χιτών, an ungirt tunic hanging down to one's feet in folds and impeding one's progress. See Liddell & Scott, sub στα:ός, where ὀρθοσταδίας is given as equivalent, Latin *talare*, a loose robe reaching the ground. The preposition and adverb intensify the encumbrance of such a garment. The meaning would then be the sin that so greatly embarrasses. The driver of a charioteer, generally a slave, was dressed in a short tunic laced round the body with leather thongs.

The writer proceeds : " let us run with patience (τρέχωμεν) the race that is set before us, looking away to Jesus, the leader and finisher of our faith."

The verb τρέχειν is frequently used of chariot driving, e.g. *Iliad* 23, 520. The writer in v. 12, adapts Isaiah xxxv. 3, chiefly with the alteration of γόνατα ἀνορθώσατε (keep straight) for ἰσχύσατε (strengthen). A runner cannot run without bending his knees, but the charioteer must keep his knees stiff and his body straight. See *Electra* (742), where the erect driver is praised. The following words " make straight paths (τροχίαι) for your feet (Prov. iv. 26) in order that the lame be not turned out of the way (ἐκτραπῇ), but rather be healed (ἰαθῇ) " ; " Follow (διώκετε) peace with all," are not unsuitable to a chariot race, τροχίαι meaning wheel tracks, and (τροχηλάτης) a charioteer. In a chariot race there was more danger of being lamed. See *Phaedrus* 248 B. " Many horses are lamed (χωλεύονται) and many have their wings broken through the fault of their drivers." ἐκτρέπω in Plato and Herodotus is a *vox propria* for turning aside the course of a thing. We find it in *Œdipus Tyr.* 779, of the driver who tried to turn Œdipus out of the road. It need not be taken in surgical sense of having a joint put out (Westcott and M.R.V.). Cf. 1 Timothy v. 15, ἐξετράπησαν ὀπίσω τοῦ Σατανᾶ, were turned out of their right course after Satan, cf. *Il.* 23, 434, where Antilochus drives furiously

after Menelaus *ὀπίσσω Ἀτρείδεω*. The word *ἰαθῇ*, a pregnant expression, seems to mean "may go on and be healed" (may reach the dressing station) instead of being trampled under the horse's hoofs or driven over by the cars. This would impart a truly original and Christian character to the race.

What then is the *νέφος μαρτύρων* in Hebrews xii. 1? If this analogy is correct, and some *analogy* is intended (*ἀναλογίσασθε* v. 3) they are those who have reached the goal we desire and have seen the things we wish to see. They have not departed like the disappointed charioteers of the Phaedrus without obtaining the longed-for sight (*ἀτελεῖς τῆς θέας*); but they are witnesses to us that there are sights yet to be seen by us, sights worth our endeavours to see.

In dense mass like a *νέφος* or cloud hovering around and above us, they are witnesses to the upward calling (*ἡ ἄνω κλῆσις*), pointing us to higher things, and above all to the Leader and Consummator of our faith, who for the joy that lay before Him, endured the cross of shame, nay, looked down with contempt upon it (*καταφρονήσας*) from the height of His spirit, as He soared to His seat at the right hand of God. Upon Him our leader (*ἀρχηγός*) we must fix our gaze, just as in the great upward circling movement of gods and immortal souls of men, in the Platonic myth, Zeus is the great leader (*ἡγεμών*), who goes first and is the supreme marshal and superintendent," [1] a description which might well apply to Him who is "the shepherd and bishop of *our* souls," our "chief Shepherd" (1 Pet. ii. 25, v. 4).

F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock.

[1] Πρῶτος πορεύεται, διακοσμῶν πάντα καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος, *Phaedrus* 246 E.

PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE.[1]

A MAN returning after four and thirty years to his old College might in any case be pardoned for speaking fondly of his teachers, even if they had been featureless and commonplace; but it is my task to-day to introduce to those who never saw him and to recall to those who knew him well one of the ornaments and glories of this place, for whom, without fear, it may be claimed that he belonged to the slender group of the original and quickening minds in the Scotland of his generation. I am told that a great part of Bruce's work is not read now, in which he shares the fortune of other notable men. A book is for its day; and he would not have grumbled that his books did not live on by themselves, if only they had so infected other minds that they, in turn, began to think and to propagate thought in ever widening circles. Of Walter Bagehot it was said that "he crops up all over the country. His mind is lent out; his thoughts toss on all waters. His brew, mixed with a humbler element, is everywhere on tap, and has gone to make a hundred smaller reputations"; and a like claim might well be made for Bruce, whose influence has travelled far beyond the possibility of tracing it. Of course, he had his limitations. He had little of the *technical* equipment of the scholar, and he had nothing of that panoply of scientific learning which makes many a famous book move so cumbrously. This sometimes made him unduly

[1] An Inaugural Address in Glasgow United Free Church College, October 9, 1919.

respectful to authority, so that he quoted learned men as if, *ex officio*, their opinions must be worthy of attention. Dr. Dods once exclaimed to me with impatience, "Why does Bruce bother so much with Weiss and Pfleiderer and the rest? His is an infinitely better mind than theirs." But, at other times and without any obvious reason, he was too disdainful; for his temper was unhampered and arbitrary, and as such he made himself felt. In a remarkable eulogy delivered about Bruce in the General Assembly, Dr. Stalker said that "the atmosphere of a Church like ours, just because it is so earnest and evangelical, is apt to become too hot and close, too exclusively pervaded by the theological virtues; and thanks are due to any one who, even with violence, opens a window to let in fresh air and the virtues of the natural man." Dr. Moffatt once applied to him a saying of Lowell's, that "he cut the cables and gave us a chance at the dangers and the glories of blue water." But a grander witness is borne by another of the notable scholars whom he trained—Dr. Lewis Muirhead—when he speaks of the great company who, helped by Bruce, "came to see in the man Jesus the glory of God."

I do not propose to investigate his contribution to Christian thought, but simply to give some impression of him as a man and a great light of our College; and in any such attempt he must be presented first in his character as a pioneer. It was not difficult, in a Church so jealously conservative as the old Free Church was, for a man to step out beyond the crowd; but in any community Bruce would have been found in the front. By nature he was naïve and outspoken, with nothing of diplomatic vagueness, but rather with the homely bluntness of upland farmers, who speak their mind if they speak at all, and are not afraid. This inevitably procured him disfavour in many

quarters. Dr. Rainy, for example, had clearly no liking for such a troubler of Israel, and he had no love for Rainy or the cautious, ecclesiastical mind. "I have no objection," he once said, "to people, if they choose, treating Rainy as Cæsar; but when they go on to treat him as God and infallible, then I do object." When a person now prominent came to address our Theological Society, Bruce listened uneasily for a while and then muttered, "That's the kind of man I hate." But if he was blunt of speech himself he was generously indifferent to hard words said against him, and he cherished a cordial regard for some of the men who denounced him as he reckoned them entirely honest. His was a frank and simple nature, with a hearty love for children and all growing creatures. When a leading merchant in the city, a pillar in our Church, met him wheeling out his newborn grandchild in the sun, and exclaimed, "This is strange company for you, Professor!" he got the reply, "My conversation, sir, is in heaven." Of the Coming One it was predicted that his food would be "curdled milk and wild honey"—wilderness fare, fit for men out on an adventure; and Bruce, too, was built up on a mental diet of homely simplicity.

The pioneer instinct never left him, and to the end of life he exhibited the questioning and exploring mind. Dr. Rainy once remarked of his predecessors in the New College that, "as soon as they experienced the power of evangelical religion, they instinctively ranged themselves in the succession of the Reformed Theology. Even John Duncan, who had wandered in so many fields of speculation, when he was converted, accepted the whole system of the traditional theology of his Church, and remained satisfied with it to the end." But Bruce was of another temper: he did not oppose the old system, but he took no interest in it. He early discovered, as he bluntly confessed, that Owen and

the Puritans—except Baxter whom he loved—"added nothing to him," and so he passed them by. Principal Cunningham, who so profoundly impressed Rainy and a host of other notable figures, had nothing to say to Bruce and Sandeman, and some of the finest minds amongst the New College students; for a new and less dogmatic age was coming in. From the beginnings of his faith, Bruce had found his theology in the endeavour, with open face, to see the Son of man in the gospels, and for the rest he did not care. No contrast could be imagined greater than that which existed between him and Dr. Dods, his companion in reproach, for Dods could not have been a heretic if he had tried: his nature, which was positive and conservative, did not contain the necessary stuff. In terms of our modern warfare, Dods's instinct was always "to dig himself in": wherever he felt a position threatened, he developed a whole system of entrenchments, line within line; and thus for many years he gave utterance to no new ideas but simply to a richer and completer illustration of those he had made familiar. But Bruce loved "open warfare," and his mind was pushing on to the last. A similar contrast might be made between him and the saint and scholar who followed him in this chair. Dr. Denney's apologetic will long appear incomparable to such as are anxious to be convinced of his conclusions; they will return with joy and with profit to their faith upon his trenchant demonstration, with its blending of intellect and devoutness both at their highest power, and upon these unforgettable phrases, like jewelled daggers. But outsiders were not much affected by it, for the centre of the argument lay in a world which they do not inhabit. But Bruce, leaving the securities and certainties behind him, pushed out boldly, seeking, since men would not come to his position, to meet them, mind with mind, in their positions. Just as Paul to Jews became

as a Jew and to Greeks as a Greek, so this friend and prophet of Jesus flung many things aside, and, beginning where few could refuse assent, he laboured to lead men on to such a view of Jesus as he himself enjoyed. Dr. Clow long ago described him as "always standing in the porch and appealing to men by what could not be denied." It was inevitable that such an attitude should be misunderstood, and it may be questioned if, even for his own purpose of apologetic, it was always effective. Dr. Warfield would find many to join him in his assertion that "as the minimising spirit of a concessive apologetic grew upon Bruce his theological product decreased in value." The victories of faith have commonly been won by the proclamation not of a bare minimum, but rather of things strange and unlikely and hard to believe because they are so full of God; and yet few will find fault with a man who so daringly and persuasively followed a way of his own. Certainly he helped many by his very fearlessness and by a disinterested regard for truth which amounted to the heroic. He was not disposed, in any interest, to treat evidence as more conclusive than it is, and he firmly marked the line of distinction between what is *historically* demonstrable and what to faith appears as highly credible. When once a man has come under the spell of Jesus, he is likely to judge in quite a new way of the evidence for the Virgin Birth: he feels that so amazing a life might very well have had a unique beginning. But that is a consequence of faith, it is not a preliminary to it, and Bruce doggedly refused to blur that line of distinction. Let me set forth Jesus, he said, in all His incontestable supremacy, and, just as happened in the Early Church, people will discover, year by year, that they have greater things and yet greater to say about Him.

This adventure of mind in Bruce was not wholly in an apologetic interest, to gain others, for in himself he was

always a seeker. He rejoiced in the wonderful things he had discovered, and yet he was sure that he was not near the end of his learning, so his mind ranged on in ceaseless exploration, and by this he troubled the Israel of his day. In *Les Misérables* the good bishop describes his own reputation amongst his fellow-clergy in a phrase which excellently applies to Bruce: "I always bothered some of them, for through me the outside air came at them; my presence in their company made them feel as if a door had been left open and there was a draught." Well, that sometimes is uncomfortable, and yet it may be better than that people should decorously be suffocated. It was said of Allan Menzies in St. Andrews that "to go into his class-room was like going into pleasant summer weather from arctic cold. He both warmed and fed us—he was so intensely interesting"; and that, in full measure, might have been said of Bruce, who, at every moment, let us feel that we were touching life, and that he was keeping nothing back.

With this pioneering temper there went, as I have said, a certain bluntness of tone at which many good people winced. Any parade of piety was abhorrent to him, and even the conventional expressions of piety perplexed him, and thus to some it seemed that he could have no piety of his own. He had never cultivated any of the arts of the pulpit,—the moving tones, the tear-drenched periods, the suitable and time-honoured phrases; and many who listened thought his preaching dry and matter of fact. And yet "he had only one subject—that was the glory, the character of God, revealed in the face of Jesus Christ. In every word he wrote he was expounding that theme, or applying it, or defending it." When he stood before the Assembly as an accused man he not only made an astonishing speech, by which votes were gained in scores: that might have been due to dexterous advocacy, a thing he held in scorn.

But what overawed and convinced the House that day was the sense that this was a man who lived close to the springs. When, on a point of interpretation, he crossed swords with A. B. Davidson, it is not enough to say that his exegesis was right, though it was unfamiliar. (In the last important English book on the Epistle to the Hebrews the writer asserts that "there is no other way of construing grammatically"). But there was more than grammar involved; it was Bruce's fearlessness and his vehement sense of the glory of the *Man* Christ Jesus which helped him to be right. To myself, as a lad beginning to attempt preaching, he once said in private, "You should try to cultivate the emotional side of your voice—and of your soul, and I think you might be a preacher"; and though he himself did not venture on the first, the second was never lacking. One of our Highland ministers tells how he had been puzzled by seeing Bruce, during lecture, take up a scrap of paper again and again, look at it, and then proceed. One day he caught at the chance to see what the paper contained, and found the initial letters of the words, "Oh, send out Thy light and Thy truth," and thus, with awe, he realised that into his class-room Bruce introduced the majesty and the hopefulness of worship. Once, unexpectedly, he was called on to speak to the poor folks gathered in a mission hall, which he never felt to be his rôle, and he simply said, "There is one thing I would like to say. In myself I have an entire love for the Lord Jesus Christ, and with all my heart I hope that you may come to be able to say the same." From that he began, and in that he ended his course.

Without entering upon a discussion of his work as an interpreter, I would single out one feature of it as characteristic of the man. His instinct for reality forced him to look at words only as they lead on to things, and thus he

was fond of the distinction between what he called *real* and *verbal* exegesis. With W. H. Simcox he would have said that "textual criticism and grammar must be servants not masters to exegesis," and rejoicingly he would have added with him, "The earth is disquieted for a handmaid that is heir to her mistress." The temptation of the mere scholar is to entangle himself among words; he dwells upon a phrase, and parallels to it in other literatures, on the derivation of the vocables, and their original suggestion, and their history, until his energy is spent, and he has no light to throw upon its meaning where it stands. A man of learning of to-day, commenting on the promise of the bruising of the serpent's head, marks the objections to every other explanation, and ends with this: "It is thus possible that, in its primary intention, the oracle reflects the protest of ethical religion against the unnatural fascination of snake worship. It is psychologically true that the instinctive feelings which lie at the root of the worship of serpents are closely akin to the hatred and loathing which the repulsive reptile excites in the healthy human mind; and the transformation of a once sacred animal into an object of aversion is a not infrequent phenomenon in the history of religion," and so on. But that is not exegesis so much as a kind of etymology, a vastly humbler occupation. It deals with the meaning which words and images at some time conveyed, and thus it has interest for the historian of religion, but it has very little to do with the meaning which the image had acquired by the time when Genesis was finally composed; and it is with this that the interpreter and all serious readers should be concerned. Words often change their suggestion so that the original sense may actually contradict the acquired sense; and it is not the beginning which must be considered, it is the end of this process. The Hellenistic word for sheep—*πρόβατον*—does

seem to suggest that the word describes a creature that goes forward; but J. H. Moulton jeeringly says that, even if that were established, we should not have "discovered much which clarifies our ideas respecting an animal which only etymology can regard as progressive." When scholars tell us that πόντος (the sea) originally meant a path we may acknowledge the description as curiously fitting in our modern world; but if a student treated that etymology as determining, how hopelessly would he miss the intention of passage after passage in which the sea is an infinite expanse, a barrier to progress—"the unplumbed, salt estranging sea!" The interpreter is always in danger of allowing what Ménégoz calls "le triomphe de l'image au détriment de l'idée," the victory of the image at the expense of the idea. The primary interest in "real exegesis" is engaged with the vital relations of literature, and to these some men are incurably blind. There is nothing easier, as Newman complained, than to use the word "God," and to mean nothing by it; and in such points Bruce found a test for all interpreters. Does this man find his way through to the realities of life and feeling, or is he learnedly playing with words? No literature can be understood except by one who is familiar with the emotions which gave it being, and many a commentator of enormous learning and acuteness manages triumphantly to omit the one thing which makes the text of lasting interest. At some stage in its interpretation a great book demands to be treated as largely timeless—"not for one age but for all time." "The book transcends in importance the field of attention of the scholar," says Dr. Rendel Harris of his beloved "Odes of Solomon," "it appeals in its devotional interest to 'the even Christian,' of whom Shakespeare speaks, the man or woman in the street of the spiritual city, the people who know better how to sing than how to translate an Eastern language, or

comment upon an ancient book." That is where so many famous scholars, with infinite pains and much parade of learning, have proved themselves to be mere Philistines and outsiders. "There is a more dangerous deficiency in a commentator than ignorance of Greek," says Jowett, "there is ignorance of language." And still worse, there is ignorance of human life and feeling.

In this Bruce seldom failed, and his strength here should help to keep his work alive. He was inexorably blind to ready-made and orthodox answers to the questions which arose. He paid such respect as seemed fitting to a writer's customary usage of a word, or to the theological tradition of the Church, but he never suffered these to be alone controlling; for in reserve he kept another question, Does this interpretation correspond to fact? Is it inwardly true? And failure at this point he regarded as fatal. Like Dr. Dale, he refused to make the dictionary the standard of experience, since "the experience is required to make the dictionary"; and with the great Bentley he wound have boldly said, "Reason and the reality of the thing are to me better than a hundred codices—nobis et ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores." Reason and the reality of the thing—these can never be ignored, though all respect be given to the words in which they are expressed. By a mass of learned persons the Apostles have been treated as if they were mere word-spinners; and when the text and the grammar have been adjusted, and reason has been discovered for all the optatives, and every trace has been noted of Philo or the Book of Wisdom, it is felt that enough has been done for honour; and no doubt, that kind of labour is required. But when it is finished, the main task of the interpreter has still to be faced; for to him the Apostles should appear first as living men, with hope, fear, joy beating in their souls, and the words employed should be

read as spoken in a context of experience; whilst any interpretation merely by the dictionary will leave unexplored the very elements which give the work its interest.

This zeal for real exegesis brought Bruce much closer to the old and deep interpreters than often appeared. Heart spoke to heart in his reading of the texts, experience to experience; and in this way he not only gave his students instruction but character and a point of view, for he engaged them with the things which matter. In Luther's phrase he sought to make them not "doctors of theology" so much as "doctors of Holy Scripture"; and thus, one may set him and Davidson side by side as having made a deeper mark upon the spirit of their men than any Scottish teacher since Chalmers. Reputations quickly pass, and great teachers are forgotten; but it is good, after twenty years, thus reverently to recall one who was a true gift of God to this house of study. "Let us now praise famous men and our father that begat us"; and let us remember that to us, in this new day, as to them, it is given, if we press courageously through, not to "follow cunningly devised fables" but for ourselves to be "eye-witnesses of His majesty."

W. M. Macgregor.

THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF REWARD.

When the rich young man had departed sorrowing, our Lord turned to His disciples and insisted afresh upon the peril of wealth to the soul's life—a peril impossible to overcome, He said, apart from the sovereign grace of God. And the disciples were astonished exceedingly. But Peter found solace for his bewilderment in the thought that these mysterious warnings might leave the disciples unperturbed. They, at least, had no great possessions. Indeed, they had sundered themselves from such small store as was theirs in order to follow their Master. They had left, for a time at least, the pursuits which brought them gain; they were content rarely to see their homes; discipleship had parted them from their friends, or even changed friendship into scorn and enmity. Not to the disciples, felt Peter, was it needful that the dangers of wealth should be emphasised, nor should the Master forget how much they had surrendered for His sake. If, moreover —this the words to the rich young man had seemed to promise—divine compensation, "treasure in heaven," was to follow sacrifice, what reward might they expect who had forgone much, not at this late hour but long ago; not sorrowfully, but in eager obedience? "Then answered Peter" —breaking in, maybe, upon the Master's words—"and said unto Him, Lo, we have left all, and followed Thee: what then shall we have?"[1]

[1] τί ἄρα ἔσται ἡμῖν; The pronoun is emphatic: "What, then, are *we* to get?" As these concluding words occur in the First Gospel alone, many commentators suppose that they were not actually spoken by Peter, but are the Matthaean explanation of the previous sentence. But the point is immaterial. If the question was not actually spoken, it was fully implied by the previous sentence, and this is shown (as Dr. Swete remarks) by the answer our Lord made.

It was a blunt and very human question. It drew a remarkable answer—an answer so amazingly gracious that the most of Christian teachers have been wellnigh afraid to set forth its wide promise. "What then shall we have?" We all know the rebuke which such words would draw from many a Christian moralist, whether of our own day or of the past. "That is a question," the austere moralist would say, "which you do wrong to ask. You cannot even have begun to grasp the meaning of discipleship if you enquire what return it will make you. All thought of reward must be put away. The prize of discipleship is discipleship itself. Count it the utmost privilege that you have been able to renounce for Christ's sake. Follow and serve Him without one thought of gain. Set yourself to think of duty alone, never of rewards. To magnify your trivial sacrifice, to desire a return for it, to ask thus crudely 'what then shall we have?' is to debase your religion with the spirit of commerce, is to prove you unfit for discipleship."

So the moralist, claiming to expound the mind of Christ, might answer. So did Christ not answer. There were moments when Peter's impetuous nature led him into folly of speech, and then the Master did not spare him stern reproof. But in this question of his, which the moralists deem unworthy, Jesus found nothing to condemn. On the contrary, He discerned a legitimate human instinct in it, and was ready to satisfy, not to rebuke, its craving. This, as recorded by St. Luke, was His reply:

"Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house, or wife, or brethren, or parents, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this time, and in the world to come eternal life."

There, in its rich fullness, is the Christian doctrine of reward. As we ponder these amazing words, we notice how wide is their promise, how greatly their scope exceeds

the question. "What shall *we*, Thy closest followers, have?" Peter had asked; the reply insists that the reward is not for the Twelve alone, but for every man who becomes a disciple. Again, the doctrine is more than one of compensation in a future stage for deprivation here; the disciple will be enriched exceedingly "in this time," as well as "in the world to come." Moreover, Jesus honours His disciples, and reveals His own mind, by that which He accounts their chiefest treasure. Not to them, as to the rich young man, does He speak of material possessions. It had been a light thing to quit the fishing-boats or the receipt of custom. But to give up the home life and its tender relationships—to leave wife, brethren, parents or children—this He rates to be for them the greatest of sacrifices, compared with which no other is worth naming. Thus highly does our Lord appraise the home life.

"Shall receive manifold more in this time, and in the world to come eternal life"—we could wish no statement more decisive or explicit, yet we may remember how full is its accord with other words of Jesus. We recall such phrases as "Great is your reward in heaven," "your Father shall reward you openly"; we recall the promise that he who renders the humblest service for the Master's sake "shall in no wise lose his reward." And the word which our Bible here, and in many cognate sayings, translates by "reward" has great significance. For the essential meaning of μισθός is not an arbitrary gift, to be bestowed or withheld at the choice of the giver, but dues paid for work; wages, hire—that which has been earned, and cannot be denied without injustice. Jesus was ever eager to rid His hearers of a false idea—an idea which had clouded the religion of Israel and survives even yet among many Christians. This error was to suppose God's dealings with mankind to be arbitrary and capricious, exempt from law, so

that none could predict them, each decision springing separately, as it were, from the Divine will. Our Lord was astonished by an error so fundamental, so at variance with that concept of God which lay beneath His whole Gospel. For the acts of God, Christ taught, are neither arbitrary nor uncontrolled. They are subject to law—law not less inexorable because of God's own devising. Thus it was no open question whether, in any given case, healing would follow faith or prayer be heard; the issue was certain, was predetermined by a law which God had made, which God could not break.

This truth illumines the doctrine of reward. We are apt to shrink—though Jesus did not shrink—from using such a term as "payment" when speaking of divine recompense for human service, aware that at best we are unprofitable servants. Yet our reluctance springs from confusion of thought. God's gift exceeds immeasurably our deserts, yet His gift lies not in the "reward," but in the law controlling the reward—the law which makes the reward so high, its payment so inevitable. The reward is not bestowed by some special decree of divine benevolence, is no arbitrary gift, but is (in a sense the most precise) our lawful due, the payment to which we are entitled by the law of God. Will any help the lowliest of his brethren? He shall in no wise lose his reward. Will any make sacrifice to follow the Master? He shall receive manifold more in this time, and in the world to come eternal life. Are we to tell the man who is meditating discipleship that he must banish these words from his memory? Or add that, if he find this impossible, at least he must not suffer them to influence his conduct, lest he be swayed by "an unworthy motive"? Must we suppose that Jesus stated thus emphatically the law of reward while yet hoping that the statement would not influence those who heard it?

Far otherwise did such a one as St. Paul interpret the mind of Christ. His writings show how firmly he holds, how openly exults in, this doctrine of reward. Here he finds solace when his labour seems vain. By this he strengthens himself against suffering, loneliness, death. To this he points his converts, bidding them "rejoice" in conditions which else had made the word grotesque. He does not stumble (as later writers have stumbled often) over an imagined conflict between the law of reward and the law of sacrifice. The Master said indeed that to deny self, to take up the cross, is—we may use an epithet literally apt—the crucial test of discipleship. Few men have fulfilled this condition more amply than St. Paul, who counted but refuse his privileges of birth and race, who bore in his scarred body the marks of the Lord Jesus. Yet the warning that the disciple's life must abound with renunciation left untouched the promise that it would abound with reward. Asceticism was foreign to Christ's gospel, if asceticism be a sterile renunciation, surrender for mere surrender's sake. True, the disciple must begin by giving up, by making sacrifices acutely real; yet the space thereby emptied will not be left vacant but filled to overflowing; his giving up will entitle him to receive "manifold more," both in this life and that which is to come. And, as St. Paul knew, to cherish this thought is not to make desire for reward the primary motive of discipleship. Before all else it is the love of Christ that constraineth us, and the force which drew the first disciples is still supreme. Knowing in part—its fullness passeth knowledge—the love of Christ, we try to follow Him—not for profit's sake, but because we can do no otherwise. Yet we fail in loyalty to Him if we feign ourselves to forget, or shrink from teaching others, that divine law of reward which He announced. For it is His message in its completeness, not a version of it impoverished

by our conceptions, that we are bidden both to hold and to transmit.

Beyond doubt there have been times in the Church's history when the doctrine of reward was set forth in crude and debasing forms; the memory of that error is kept alive for us by a phrase or two surviving in our hymn-books. Yet to-day our more frequent fault is to minimise the doctrine, and well-nigh to expunge it from our preaching[1] and our popular theology. This brings us grievous loss. It weakens the appeal of Christianity. It tends to depersonalise God (if we may use that verb), presenting our religion as an abstract code of ethics, rather than as the word of One who lives and loves. From obedience to an impersonal code, however sublime, we expect no reward other than the approval of our judgment and conscience. But if we claim our places as our Father's children and work to do His will, instinctively we look for a reward, and we look for it not because of our merit but because of His love. Here on earth a father will yearn to reward his children if, in little ways and with many failures, they try to please Him. He will neither measure the reward by the service done nor defer its payment to some future beyond the children's ken. Mindful of this, we recall the "how much more shall your Father which is in heaven" that our Master spake.

From many doubtful hearts, moreover, rings an echo of Peter's question. "You bid us follow Christ," they say. "You insist—and we thank you for your candour—that this will demand sacrifices of us neither few nor light. We may be called to suffer material loss, for the source or present use of our possessions may prove to accord ill with the words of Jesus. At best, we must needs surrender much,

[1] The Editor of the EXPOSITOR reminds me that Dr. R. W. Dale, when reviewing his work as a preacher, accounted it his chief failure that he had not given more prominence to the doctrine of reward.

and we cannot part without a struggle from our easy standards, our self-indulgence. Discipleship means sacrifice—this you have shown us, this we accept as truth. But if we respond to the call and make the sacrifice—what then shall we have ? " Far too often we lack courage to answer that question rightly ; we attempt to silence it or to condemn it as unfitting. Wiser is it to see, as our Lord saw, how natural the question is, and to meet it with His glorious answer! Why chill wistful souls by silence or discouragement, when " manifold more in this time, and in the world to come eternal life " is the response of Christ ? With that message to give, we cannot leave men doubtful if Christianity be " worth while." A multitude of anxious folk to-day wait for an assurance that discipleship means not the impoverishment but the enrichment of life, that every gift it can offer is enhanced by following Him who came that men might have life more abundantly. Joy hereafter beyond our power to conceive, and here the transfiguration of work and leisure, of love and friendship ; purpose, setting us free from the tangle of rival motives ; peace, such as no outward ill can overthrow—such, in part, is the recompense by God's unalterable law for the sacrifices of discipleship. Let us cherish the doctrine for our own exceeding comfort, assured that, if they be for His sake, not one effort made, not one word of kindness spoken, will lack their reward. Let us proclaim exultantly to all who seek happiness that the path to it lies through discipleship, that the promise endures, and that, while we wait its ultimate fulfilment in the world to come, yet here and now all things indeed are ours, if we are Christ's, as Christ is God's.

ANTHONY. C. DEANE.

CHRIST'S THOUGHT OF HIS DEATH.

"FROM that time forth," says the First Gospel at a somewhat late point in the gospel story, viz., after Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi— "from that time forth" Jesus began to teach His disciples about His approaching death. Thrice over, says Mark, He gave this teaching; and Matthew and Luke carefully reproduce the threefold warning. Even more strongly evidential[1] are Christ's incidental references to His appointed ordeal of pain; e.g., "O faithless and perverse generation! How long shall I suffer you?" "Can ye drink of the cup that I drink?" "I have a baptism to be baptized with; how am I straitened till it be accomplished!" The gospels further tell us that Jesus read the signs of the times. In the Baptist's martyrdom He perceived a sure indication of what was in store for Himself. Still further, we are told that He pointed disciples to the *Scriptures;* the Old Testament had its programme of suffering, which was growing plain to Him and must grow plain to them. And surely it is incredible that as the skies darkened overhead one with the spiritual insight of Jesus —one who now called upon His followers to "take up the cross"—one who found Himself foreshadowed in Isaiah xlii. and other Servant passages—could fail to apply to Himself Isaiah liii. and Psalm xxii. Probably then in the mind of Jesus Himself the fact of Atonement came first and the interpretation only second; the fact being anticipated, accepted as a divine necessity, and then expounded to His disciples in two great synoptic passages. To these even the Fourth Gospel, with its wealth of mature reflexion, has little or nothing to add.

"The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to

[1] So J. Weiss rightly observes.

minister, and to give his life a ransom for many." [1] This, the first of our two great passages, is found in Mark and reproduced in Matthew—not in Luke; the latter's version of the context is placed later in time, under the very shadow of the cross, and yet omits all reference to the death of Christ. Plainly Luke is following a separate authority, and its compiler may have been unresponsive to the thought of atonement. That is not true, however, of St. Luke himself. His hospitable mind found a place and a welcome for the most distinctive utterances of Pauline evangelicalism,[2] and an equal welcome for the Jewish-Christian hatred of wealth and praise of poverty. If we accept the Marcan setting of the saying now before us, it is out of the question that Jesus, who tells James and John that they, like Himself, must be prepared for death, should say nothing about His death in the companion lesson which He adds for the benefit of "the Ten."

"The Son of Man came to give his life a ransom for many." This crucial saying may include an echo of Isaiah liii. 12—the great Sufferer "bare the sins of *many*"—but it throws us back more directly upon the teaching of Psalm xlix. in regard to "ransom" from death. Our Lord of course knows the Psalm in what modern scholarship feels bound to regard as an erroneous text, which contemplates as logically conceivable, though never a real possibility of the moral world, that a man might be able to ransom "his brother" from the doom of dying. The original reading evidently declared that no one, however rich, could ransom *himself*. We have another striking proof of our Lord's interest in this Psalm in that solemn passage which re-

[1] Mark x. 45.

[2] Comp. Acts xx. 28. We should deceive ourselves if we supposed that Luke incorporates any teaching with which he does not feel himself in sympathy. It is not probable that any early Christian writer compiled history in such a spirit of scientific detachment.

iterates the warning that the successful godless man can offer nothing whatsoever out of all his stores of wealth in exchange for his " soul " or " life "—he may have triumphed over multitudes of human rivals, but God and death are inexorable. Perhaps it is not too bold to say that subconsciously, in this other saying, the mind of our Master finds its way back to the original teaching of Psalm xlix., reproducing it with added power. Of course this achievement of spiritual insight does not prevent the less correct *textus receptus* of the Psalm from making its suggestions to the conscious mind of Jesus or from being used in the providence of God to define Christ's thought of atonement.

The Psalm in its present form asserts that it is impossible for any man to pay a price which will redeem a brother man from the necessity of dying. Ransoms by great deeds of vicarious generosity are logically thinkable, morally nonexistent. Jesus knows better than that ! He finds Himself faced by the hideous prospect of dying, under every circumstance of pain and shame ; but He recognises in this destiny the will of God, deposited in Old Testament scripture, notably in Isaiah liii. Therefore, with a solemn gladness, He accepts His tremendous lot of suffering. It is not to be wasted suffering. He is " to see of the travail of His soul and to be satisfied." He is to ransom " many." Knowing Himself to be Messiah, He must regard His death by suffering as a thing of vastly greater significance than the death of any martyr of Maccabean times—if indeed He thinks of such martyrs at all. Here then the word " redemption " or " ransom " picks up again some of its original connotation. The Old Testament had come to make it a simple equivalent for " deliverance," tracing such deliverance to the omnipotent power of God. Christ knows of a price to be paid. By moral and spiritual means, in uttermost weakness, He is to redeem His brethren. He calls the price

His "life." Had the saying been a gloss, due to early-church theology, it would almost certainly have spoken of the "blood of Christ," not the "life," as offered and accepted in ransom. Such is the language of Acts and Epistles. As yet, the Master's own language is different. And the difference helps to stamp the great saying now before us as the Master's personal thought.

On the other hand, there is hardly need to insist that Christ refrains from the slightest suggestion that the price is paid to Diabolus. The learned Abbé Rivière calls our attention to a passage from Sabatier, in which the latter seems to suggest that Jesus may really have had that ugly thought in His mind. Rivière's language is not quite explicit. It is not certain that he imputes this strange misinterpretation of Jesus' words to Sabatier, as Sabatier's serious belief. Nor is Sabatier's own language perfectly unambiguous; but we shall probably understand him rightly if we regard him as hinting *first* that the whole saying is rhetoric, metaphor, symbol; and *secondly* that if theology insists upon turning such imagery into dogmas, then Jesus' words must imply that Diabolus gets paid off. This is a natural enough line to be taken by an ethical rationalist, who dislikes the very thought of atonement. But, however natural, it is neither good theology nor scientific exegesis. Jesus' saying is shaped by the words of Psalm xlix., and therefore it is plain that the ransom spoken of must be conceived as given "to God" (Ps. xlix. 7).

The offer of ransom to God by a bad rich man on his own behalf creates one set of associations; the offer of ransom to God on behalf of mankind by a Saviour is a very different matter. It is not easy to say what are the implications of Christ's words. If we are pressed to define these more sharply, we might say that the moral order of the universe receives the price, and therefore ultimately God Himself

receives it, since by Him the moral order is shaped and upheld. These expressions are, no doubt, characteristically modern, and it may be hard to say how the early Christian mind would have stated such a thought in detail. At any rate, the early church rose to the perception that God did not redeem man by mere power. It was an unhappy perversion and degradation of that noble saying, when the theory of the devil's rights came into being and carried men's thoughts captive.

Or we might offer as a second paraphrase of our Lord's saying about the ransom, that the death of Christ makes human immortality morally credible and morally inevitable, in spite of man's sin.

There is fuller theological teaching in the companion passage, which contains the sayings at the Last Supper, especially the words connected with the Cup.

And yet here again we have to fight our way forward past some rather grave critical doubts. For the second time upon a certain construction of the textual evidence—a construction which commended itself to such unbiassed judges as Westcott and Hort—we find in Luke's record, or in the authority which Luke has preferred to follow, elimination of the theology of atonement. But we must not let this conclusion, even if we should accept it, make an exaggerated impression upon our minds. It remains certain that Luke was acquainted with the Marcan record of the Last Supper. It remains certain that he himself —friend of Paul, as he was—held a very strong doctrine of atonement by the blood of Christ. If there is really a tradition of the Last Supper which has nothing to say on atonement, such tradition may reflect the mind of Luke's authority, but does not reflect Luke's own.

We assume then as extremely well attested the familiar

record of the Last Supper. Possibly—upon one reading of the evidence—the record, steeped as it is in the thought of atonement, is Lucan. Certainly it is Matthaean and Marcan. Certainly it is also Pauline. Accordingly we are assured by very strong evidence that, at this supreme moment, our Lord interpreted His sufferings and death to His disciples as sacrificial. But—unless for the recurrence here again of the term "many"—we have no clear trace of borrowing from Isaiah liii. "My blood of the covenant" suggests three Old Testament references; first, the record of the covenant-sacrifice in Exodus xxiv. 7; secondly, the great New Covenant passage of Jeremiah xxxi., in which forgiveness is emphasised as the new covenant's central glory; thirdly, Zechariah ix. 11. It seems probable that the last is the starting point of Christ's thought, though the others play their part in filling out His doctrine. The context in Deuterozechariah had been much in our Lord's mind, for it contains the programme of His triumphal entry into Jerusalem. In making this assertion we set aside the strange suggestion that the disciples rather than the Master organised that scene of short-lived triumph. The Gospels affirm the very opposite. Jesus organised it! Possibly, it was meant as a final deliberate appeal for recognition as Messiah, and as a Messiah of peace. Yet, if so, it attained little success. Matthew tells us that the friendly crowds described Jesus as "the prophet of Nazareth in Galilee"—not as the Christ; and the Fourth Gospel chimes in unexpectedly with the assurance that at the time the disciples did not realise what they were doing, though they perceived its significance afterwards.[1] Perhaps indeed the triumphal entry might

[1] Here and in some other passages "Son of David" may simply mean "Man of Davidic descent." The fact—or a belief that such was the fact—might count for not a little, even apart from any thought of Jesus as Messiah.

be sufficiently explained by our Lord's devout regard for what was written in the Old Testament. The programme was appointed for Him ; and He would fulfil it.

A second reference to Deutero-Zechariah is found in our Lord's quotation "I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad." If then two passages from that prophecy played their part in our Master's thoughts and actions at this supreme time, it is more than likely that His words in connexion with the testamental cup refer to a third passage : " By the blood of thy covenant I have sent forth thy prisoners from the pit wherein is no water."

In the original the person addressed is of course feminine. It is the " daughter of Zion " who receives the promise. That however constitutes no hindrance to our Lord's claiming for Himself, with a certain heroic self-consciousness, the fulfilment of so great a word of hope, all the more if the blood of this His covenant is His own blood. There is similar self-consciousness in the command " This do in remembrance of me,"[1] if we may trust that saying as literally historical. Memories of paschal redemption from Egyptian bondage were to lose themselves henceforth in the remembrance of a greater deliverance from a slavery worse than any which political oppression could inflict. We ought perhaps to connect the saying at the Last Supper, if moulded by the divine speaker on Zechariah ix. 11, with the Ransom passage. It would seem that here at least Jesus is thinking of deliverance from bondage. He is planning (if we like to put it so) the rescue of those who are in slavery to the Evil One.

[1] It is plain upon many grounds that our Lord looked forward to a time of testing for His disciples when He was to be absent from them in body—a time when they had need to remember His past gifts and to look watchfully for His return.

He comes, the prisoners to release,
In Satan's bondage held ;
The gates of brass before Him burst,
The iron fetters yield.

Only there is no thought in Christ's teachings of a *transaction* for the benefit of that evil power.

What we have been saying may appear to some to represent Christ too much as a scholastic theologian, running about from text to text of the Old Testament. But will they think again ? Will they try to grasp what it must have been to look forward to a disaster which was rapidly approaching—a disaster which, as our evidence plainly enough declares, Jesus foresaw ? By spiritual sympathy He penetrated deeper into the world of Old Testament thought, and was more at home in its richest portions, than any one before Him or after. What else could He do but treasure every word of " the things concerning himself " ?

Apart from the record of our Lord's doctrinal teaching there are two great scenes or utterances in His personal and spiritual history which must be kept in view when we seek to study His thought of atonement. There is the Agony, and there is the cry of desertion on the cross. These tremendous records are among the strongest buttresses of a penal theory of Atonement. And, even if we decline to regard that theory of Atonement as more than a vague parable of the true significance of Christ's death, we are bound by the most stringent obligations as historians, and as Christians, to inquire what such disturbances in the soul of our Lord may imply.

Courage is not equivalent to insensibility ; and the anguished struggle through which our Lord passed in Gethsemane makes His subsequent calm the more majestic.

If He believed with the theology of His age that death as such was the wages of sin, it must be a tremendous and terrible thing for Him to look into the near eyes of death. If He thought—like that unknown disciple of the second generation who has left us the Epistle to the Hebrews: Apollos or another—if He thought of the angel of death as the evil potency who "had the power thereof," then on that ground death must be dreadful and hateful. And His words regarding ransom seem to make it plain that death for Him could not be what it was to be for so many of those on whose behalf He gave Himself—peaceful, happy, effortless. He "tasted death for every man" with irrepressible shuddering but unflinching resolution. And herein is love.

What is known among us as the Cry of Desertion must occupy a less assured place in our construction. The words might be an infiltration from Psalm xxii., not spoken by Him, but imputed to Him by His disciples; we observe in Matthew's passion-narrative (xxvii. 43) how the programme of the Psalm is followed even to the point of falsifying history and asserting an incredible literal fulfilment of the prophetic picture.

Again, at Luke xxiii. 46 a different and seemingly more suitable expression from the Psalter is put into the mouth of the dying Jesus. In reply to all this it might be urged that the theologians of the early Church would have hesitated to ascribe to their dying Lord so tremendous an utterance as the Cry of Desertion unless the historical evidence had been so strong as to override all hesitation. But what twentieth-century mind can confidently control the workings of the Christian mind of the first century?

Another possible view is to hold that our Lord in His anguish called aloud upon God—this would account for the strange sequel, that they said He was summoning "Elijah"

—and that later reflexion interpreted the cry as a fragment of Psalm xxii.

If we take the record as it stands, we may incline to interpret the cry of desertion as expressing the terrible sense of what it is to die when the mind is unclouded. This is expressed with almost morbid power in the *Dream of Gerontius* :—

> A visitant
> Is knocking his dire summons at my door,
> The like of whom, to scare me and to daunt,
> Has never, never come to me before ; . . .
> As though my very being had given way,
> As though I was no more a substance now,
> And could fall back on naught to be my stay,
> (Help, loving Lord ! Thou my sole Refuge, Thou !)
> And turn no whither, but must needs decay
> Into the shapeless, scopeless, blank abyss.

Or, a little further on in the poem :—

> I can no more, for now it comes again,
> That sense of ruin, which is worse than pain,
> That masterful negation and collapse
> Of all that makes me man ; as though I bent
> Over the dizzy brink
> Of some sheer infinite descent ;
> Or worse, as though
> Down, down for ever I was falling through
> The solid framework of created things,
> And needs must sink, and sink.

If it seems that the words from the Psalm must mean even more than this, we shall not try to admit their historicity while evacuating them of meaning by saying—as some have done—that Jesus was repeating the Psalm to Himself. It was no moment for holy and peaceful meditation upon scripture ! Yet we might recognise infinite significance in the fact that His anguish found such utterance as this. When, for the first and only time, He fails to feel God near

Him, He still exclaims, "My God"![1] Nor is that all. It is possible that an earlier saying, about the joy of the sons of the bridechamber in the bridegroom's very presence, had brought across His mind in swift sequel a chilling dread. Even so now, and more so now, the Cry of Desertion, if literally uttered by Christ, must also have had its sequel, and that a sequel of comfort. The closing portion of the Psalm would not but rise up before His thoughts like a message straight from heaven. He had been feeling as God's lesser saints felt before Him. He had cried as they cried. And He like them, He more than any of them, *must* be consoled and delivered. For God "had not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted, nor had he hidden his face from him"—unless "for a small moment"—"but when he cried unto him, he heard." And so the record of Christ's sufferings—those unexampled sufferings—passes into the vision of Christ glorified with an unending glory.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

BARNABAS, LUKE AND BITHYNIA.

IN his *Christianity according to St. Luke*, for which we must all heartily thank him, Mr. S. C. Carpenter makes it evident that he has little doubt (1) that St. Luke was a "disciple" of St. Paul; (2) that he became such at Troas on the Second Missionary Journey (as it is generally called). He at first puts a note of interrogation to the suggestion that it was by the Apostle Paul that the Evangelist was brought to Christ; but in the later pages of the book this view is treated as an established fact. And he seems to regard it as probable that the physician was led to Christ while professionally attending the great Missionary. And yet

[1] This remark is one af the coincidences between those diverse minds John McLeod Campbell and Albrecht Ritschl.

he throws no doubt on the tradition which connects St. Luke with Antioch.

Now, if St. Luke was indeed "Antiochensis," and had been at all in contact with the Church there, he can hardly have failed to meet St. Paul many a time before he joined him at Troas. St. Paul had been at work there, for some time before his First Missionary Journey. But he had been fetched from Tarsus to take part in that work at Antioch by one whom St. Luke never mentions without making us feel that his heart is throbbing with love and thankfulness. He seems to delight in shewing that this "Joseph, a Levite, a Cypriote by race" was always proving himself worthy of the surname given him by "the apostles," that he was indeed a Barnabas, "a son of encouragement," playing towards the infant Church the part that Joseph of old played towards his father and his brethren. When, after his Conversion, Saul came to Jerusalem and endeavoured to attach himself to the disciples, and found them all frightened at him and sceptical about his being a disciple, it was Joseph, the Son of Encouragement, who "took him by the hand and led him to the Apostles, and gave them a full account of the way in which on the road he had seen the Lord, and (assured them) that the Lord had spoken to him, and of the way in which at Damascus he had openly proclaimed Jesus as the Master whose he was and whom he was called to serve."

Barnabas doubtless was foremost in the precautionary measure of rescuing the young Rabbi on whom St. Stephen's mantle had fallen from St. Stephen's fate by conveying him (as he was to be conveyed one day by Roman soldiers) to Cæsarea and shipping him thence to Tarsus. To Tarsus not long afterwards Barnabas followed him, in order that he might have him as his fellow-worker in following up the great opening made at Antioch by the evangelising work of

certain Cypriotes and Cyrenæans, driven from Jerusalem by the fury of the Hellenists who had stoned Stephen and would have stoned Saul. When the Church in Jerusalem heard of the effect the preaching of these men had on their fellow-Hellenists at Antioch, "they sent forth Barnabas to go as far as Antioch." He on "arriving and seeing the grace of God was filled with joy and set to work to encourage all of them to persevere in the thing their heart had purposed in the Lord, *for he was a good man and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith*" (Acts xi. 20 ff.).

The mass movement continued; Barnabas fetched Saul from the University City to cope with it; they spent a busy year in the fellowship of the Church in Antioch, and taught so large a number, that it became necessary, in this commercial place, for the disciples to adopt the title of "Christians," to be as it were legally incorporated under that name. The property which made this step necessary enabled them presently to send succour to the Mother Church at Jerusalem on occasion of the famine in the reign of Claudius. Those chosen to carry the supplies thither were "Barnabas and Saul" (xi. 26). At Jerusalem they doubtless stayed at the house of Mary, the mother of Mark, this lady being sister of Barnabas' mother. They can hardly fail to have been among those who were praying in this house when Peter came thither from the prison (Acts xii.). When they returned to Antioch, they took with them Mary's son John, surnamed Mark, both youth and mother having, we may believe, yielded to the παράκλησις of Barnabas (xii. 25). Immediately after this St. Luke tells us of the Retreat at Antioch, naming Barnabas first and Saul last in the list of "prophets and teachers" who led it. It issued, as we know, in the bidding of the Holy Ghost, "Separate unto Me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them for Myself."

It is needless to point out how intimate St. Luke's knowledge of the arrival and spread of the Gospel at Antioch is, and how, taken with the tradition that he was an Antiochene, it justifies us in supposing that he had had ample opportunity for meeting St. Paul there. But more than this. His manifest interest in Barnabas, and the tone in which he speaks of him and the things he delights to tell of him go far to make us guess that it was through Barnabas that he was brought to Christ.

Had the gifted physician just left the death-bed of a little child when he saw in the street the face of the man who had a "glad" heart because he had eyes that could "see the grace of God"? Did the trained gaze of the sad-hearted doctor detect in those eyes and that face the possession τῆς παρακλήσεως ἧς παρακαλούμεθα αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ (2 Cor. i. 4)? Did he resolve that he would not rest till he had found its source in Him whose "fruit is joy" (Gal. v. 22)? If so, had not St. Stephen's indictment of the Jews been repeated to him by one on whom it made as deep an impression as it did on the persecutor who was one day to be the yoke-fellow of that other listener in bearing to the world the first Martyr's message?

If it be urged that this is guess-work, my reply is that it is more in agreement with what we know than is the supposition that Luke did not become a Christian till he joined St. Paul for a brief space at Troas.

And I ask to be followed in some further guess-work. We left Barnabas and Saul starting for their first missionary journey. Let us rejoin them when they are again setting forth. This time they cannot go together owing to a difference of opinion about taking John Mark who had flinched from accompanying them into the interior of Asia Minor. So Paul chooses Silas and sets out to go round the Bay of Issus, while the trustful and cheering Barnabas

with John Mark takes the Cyprus route as before. We may feel sure that they took that route, not chiefly because they probably had kinsfolk in the island, but to visit and confirm the converts there. Can we at all guess what had been settled between the two nominees of the Holy Spirit as to the further routes to be followed by each of these missionary parties? We know the route which St. Paul proposed to take. It was the great western road that would ultimately bring him to Ephesus. But he would first visit Lycaonia and Pisidia. The obvious route left for Barnabas' party would be the northern road to Cæsarea and Sinope. The probability is that it was arranged that they should take this route. We know from 1 St. Peter that Mark was a *persona grata* to the Christians of Asia Minor. We know also from Pliny's famous letter to Trajan that Christianity had a strong hold on the people of Pontus and Bithynia at the very beginning of the second century.

And now let us go back to St. Luke. Paul and Silas, he tells us, were not allowed by the guiding Spirit to carry out their intention of going to Ephesus. And when they attempted to go into Bithynia "the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not" (Acts xvi. 6, 7). So they passed through (or "by") Mysia and came to Troas, where, as we suppose, St. Luke joined them. Whence did he come? Sir W. M. Ramsay has suggested that he was the "man of Macedonia" who summoned the Apostle to Europe. Is it not more natural to suppose that he came from Bithynia? All that we know of his mind would lead us to think that in the difference of opinion between the two great Missionaries he would have been drawn into sympathy with the man who had keener sight for "the grace of God" than for human weakness, and that he was a member of the party that sailed for Cyprus—the island that had taken part in

evangelising his own Antioch. If so, he may well have reached Bithynia before the Pauline party assayed to enter it. Was it perchance through him that "the Spirit of Jesus" brought home to St. Paul the principle which he so stoutly cherished in later years of keeping to his own sphere, of not taking the credit of other men's labours (2 Cor. x. 12–16)? St. Luke went with Paul and Silas as far as Philippi. After that we do not know where he went. He rejoined St. Paul at Philippi several years (seven perhaps) later. But there is no reason to suppose that he remained there all that time. He may well have escorted Lydia and her household when they returned to Thyatira, and thence made his way back to Barnabas and Mark in Pontus or Bithynia.

Mr. Carpenter prints on the fly-leaf of his book the following:

Lucas Syrus natione Antiochensis arte medicus discipulus apostolorum postea Paulum secutus usque ad confessionem ejus serviens Domino sine crimine. Nam neque uxorem umquam habens neque filios septuaginta annorum obiit in Bithynia plenus Spiritu Sancto. —*Praefatio vel argumentum Lucae* (c. 230).

The words *discipulus apostolorum* seem to suggest that St. Luke had learned from more than one apostle *before* he followed St. Paul. They hardly fit in with the idea of his having become a Christian through attending St. Paul on a journey, though they might mean that Paul and Silas taught him at Troas and during the journey to and stay at Philippi. The words *obiit in Bithynia* suggest that so soon as he was released from his service to St. Paul he went back to Bithynia, not surely to break new ground there but because he had stronger links with it than with any other "sphere of faith." Is it not possible that he had in view a third book of his immortal work, in which he meant to tell us of the sowing of that field whose abundant harvest is portrayed by the cultured Proconsul?

May we venture on one further guess ? Did some Christian carry tidings of St. Paul's illness from Galatia to Bithynia, and did the "Son of Encouragement" once more make good his surname by despatching to his aid "the beloved physician" ? G. H. WHITAKER.

THE EARLY ROMAN CHURCH TO THE CLOSE OF THE NERONIAN PERSECUTION.

THE planting and growth of the primitive Church in Rome are so obscure that even a conjectural reconstruction of them at first sight seems to be impossible. But a close study of the beginnings of Christianity in important centres of the Roman Empire, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, tempts the present writer to make such a reconstruction.

The sacred events enacted at the memorable Passover and Pentecost of 29 A.D. must have made no small stir among the Jewish people, and we can hardly doubt that some accounts of them would soon reach Rome, the centre of the gossip of the Empire. Such accounts would naturally arouse the curiosity of the Roman Jews, and the pilgrims to the Feasts would be eagerly questioned on their return, which would take place before the close of the travelling season in September. If some of St. Peter's converts were amongst those who returned, they would bring his teaching with them and would be anxious to pass it on to any who would listen to them. The Jewish colony in Rome formed a ready soil for such teaching and a result would follow somewhat similar to that which followed the Apostles' teaching in Jerusalem. There a movement was begun which attracted[1] thousands of adherents. So popular was it that when the Sanhedrim sent officers to arrest the

[1] Acts ii. 41, iv. 4, v. 14.

Apostles in the temple we read: "They brought them, but without violence, for they feared the people lest they should be stoned." [1]

As in Jerusalem, so in Rome, a Christian movement would be started, not in the same open manner, for the earliest teachers would not have had the same means of learning their message as the Apostles, neither would they have in Rome the same opportunity of gathering crowds to listen to them. Their work would be undertaken in the homes of their friends, or in quiet talks as they went and returned from the Synagogue services or from their work. The movement in Rome, although equally popular, would naturally be of much slower growth than that in Jerusalem. It would never witness such scenes as those recorded in the Acts, where thousands joined it in a single day, but rather it would be like the seed which groweth secretly, springing up we know not how. At first it would be completely unorganised. The teaching would exist in the hearts of its adherents, who to all outward appearances would be Jews. Even meetings for common worship or "breaking of bread" could hardly have been held until some further information as to its development had been received from Jerusalem, and this might not take place until the return of the pilgrims from the next year's feasts.

Such a body, consisting of pious Jews and devout proselytes, would in all probability be looked upon with a mild contempt by the Jewish leaders in Rome as long as nothing was done to undermine their own influence. They no doubt considered its members peculiar and eccentric in their views, but as it may have been a means of attracting proselytes they tolerated it.

The next gleam of light on the Roman Church is found in a sentence of Suetonius [2] which reads that Claudius expelled

[1] Acts vi. 7. [2] Suetonius, Claudius xxv.

the Jews from Rome on account of a disturbance due to Chrestus, an incident which must be dated about 49 A.D.

In the meanwhile events had been moving rapidly in the East, and primitive Christianity had developed from the position of a Jewish sect and was on its way to become a religion open to all the world. In this development an explanation of the incident referred to by Suetonius may possibly be found.

The attitude of the populace of Jerusalem towards the Christian movement changed from sympathy to hatred at the time of the martyrdom of St. Stephen—St. Luke implies that this change was due directly to his teaching—and a persecution followed which resulted in the dispersion of the disciples.[1] This dispersion led to a very important development in the teaching and practice of some of the early missionaries, who, in the Synagogue at Antioch, spoke the Word directly to the Greeks, with the result that a great number that believed turned to the Lord.[2] From this we may conclude with Professor Ramsay[3] that a mixed congregation of Jews and Greeks constituted the primitive congregation at Antioch, but the Greeks had entered through the door of the Synagogue.

If, with Turner,[4] we date the martyrdom of St. Stephen in 35 A.D., we may date the beginning of this mixed congregation very shortly afterwards—35–36.

It would be some time before the influences which disturbed the Church in Jerusalem and led to the formation of the mixed congregation at Antioch would spread to Rome. But they would be sure to come in time, for all new thoughts and ideas ultimately reached the Imperial City, and we

[1] Acts viii. 1.
[2] Acts xi. 19–21.
[3] Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, Tenth Edition, p. 40.
[4] Hastings, *D.B.*, vol. i. p. 429.

know that the Church at Antioch was imbued with the missionary spirit.

This new teaching would be introduced like the former by "sojourners" visiting the metropolis, who in the Synagogue would pointedly address their teaching to the Greeks. Thus, by degrees, as at Antioch, so in Rome a mixed congregation would be formed, partly of Jews and partly of Greeks. Such a community might exist for a time undisturbed, but in the end an effort would be made, either by the Jewish portion or by emissaries from Jerusalem, to enforce the full burden of the Jewish law upon the Greeks. This would at once lead to a schism in the congregation and an appeal might be made by the Jewish portion to their leaders. A disturbance would assuredly follow, filling the Jewish quarter with confusion. The cause of such a disturbance would not be understood by the Roman Government and they would naturally put it down as "due to Chrestus." In such a disturbance we probably find an explanation of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by Claudius in 49 A.D.

At Antioch, we know, an attempt was made to enforce the Jewish law upon the Greeks,[1] which led to the Council of Jerusalem in 46 A.D. From this we see that the mixed congregation at Antioch existed for ten years undisturbed.

Taking this fact as a basis, and counting back ten years from 49 A.D.—the date of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by Claudius Cæsar—we arrive at 39 A.D. as the date for the introduction of the "new teaching" into the city. This date suits exactly, for it would be about two years before the new teaching would find its way from Antioch to Rome.

Thus, to sum up the results of our reconstruction of the history of the planting and growth of primitive Christianity in Rome :—

[1] Acts xv. 1.

A.D.

29–39 Christianity existed in Rome as a Jewish sect, similar to the primitive congregation in Jerusalem.

39 The broader teaching, which at Antioch led to the formation of the mixed congregation of Jews and Greeks, was introduced into Rome.

39–49 The gradual formation of a mixed congregation of Jews and Greeks took place, which existed undisturbed.

49 An attempt was made, either by the Jewish party or by emissaries from Jerusalem (as at Antioch), to enforce the Jewish law upon the Greeks. This led to the disturbance mentioned by Suetonius and the expulsion of the Jews from Rome.

It is not until we come to St. Paul's Epistle to the Roman Church that we leave the sinking sands of conjecture and stand upon the firm ground of actual history. A consideration of that document as it stands shows that at the date of its composition, 58 A.D., the majority of the Roman Christians could not have been drawn from the ignorant and unlearned masses, as they so often are supposed to have been. The Apostle presupposes a considerable amount of culture on the part of his readers; he feels assured that they will not only be able to follow his intricate reasoning, but also that they will have sufficient acuteness of mind to raise objections to his train of thought as it unfolds itself. The class in Rome to which this would apply would be the Greeks, who are thus described by Bishop Lightfoot: "The Greeks were the most energetic as they were also the most intelligent and enquiring of the middle classes in Rome at this time. The successful tradesmen, the skilled artisans, the confidential servants and retainers of noble houses—almost all the activity and enterprise of the common people, whether for good or for evil—were Greek."[1]

[1] Lightfoot *Epistle to the Philippians*, 1879, p. 20.

A study of the Epistle also suggests a knowledge by its readers of the Old Testament Scriptures in the Greek version. It matters not whether it be Jews or Gentiles whom he is expressly addressing at the moment, to both the Apostle quotes the Old Testament as a book which held a recognised place of authority among them. The very least we can conclude from this is that the Synagogue had been the training ground for the majority of the Roman Christians.

Twice[1] the Apostle mentions the well-known report of the faith of his readers, and at the close of his Epistle he sends them a unique greeting in the words "All the Churches of Christ salute you."[2] It seems obvious from this that in 58 A.D. the Roman Church was a body which would compare favourably with other Christian communities, and one with which they were well acquainted.

The Judaistic controversy, which disturbed the early Church at this period, was going on in Rome. The actual relationship between the two parties is somewhat obscure, but it seems evident that although it was far from amicable there was no open breach. This is brought out when the Galatian Epistle is compared with the one before us. There the Apostle inveighs against Jewish teachers who endeavoured to win his own converts from the Gospel which he preached. Here, we find none of that fierce invective; the Apostle appeals to the Jews as one who was ready to be anathema from Christ for his brethren's sake: "to the Jews he becomes as a Jew that he might gain the Jews." Difficulties certainly exist in Rome, but they are not the open sores so evident in the Galatian Churches. The allegory of the good and wild olive tree, authoritatively addressed as it is to the Gentile Christians and containing warnings against undue exaltation and arrogance, makes it probable that in this case they may have been the offending party.

[1] Rom. i. 8; xvi. 19. [2] Rom. xvi. 16.

The list of salutations with which the Epistle closes enables us to form some positive idea of the social and racial composition of this early Christian congregation. In this list are to be found six Jews, four Latins, and ten Greeks, and, as Sanday and Headlam suggest, "some such proportion as this might well be represented in the Church at large."[1] The names are those which belonged to the servile class in Rome, and to almost all of them parallels are to be found in the monumental inscriptions of the period. This class formed by far the larger portion of the resident population of the city, and in many households of the Roman nobility the slaves could be numbered in thousands. To the Christians in two such households—those of Aristobulus and Narcissus—greetings are sent by the Apostle. If this Narcissus be the well-known freedman who was put to death by Agrippina shortly after the accession of Nero, his slaves —though still grouped together under the title of Narcissiani —would in all probability have gone to swell the Imperial household. Thus as early as 58 A.D. Christians would be found in "Cæsar's household."

The list of names appears to fall into distinct groups. First there are those to whom the Apostle is bound by ties of friendship and labour, and these are followed by Christians whose work for the Gospel receives special mention. Among these may be the names of those who held official positions in the Roman Church. Two groups of Christians are then greeted together with "the Saints (or Brethren) who are with them," and a similar phrase is added to the greeting to Prisca and Aquila. This leads us to the conclusion that there were at this period at least three separate meeting places for the Christians in Rome, probably situated in different parts of the city.

Two years after his Epistle was written, St. Paul arrived in

[1] *Epistle to the Romans*, p. 34.

Rome as the prisoner of Roman bureaucracy. This visit, which lasted for two years, had a marked effect upon the Roman Church. The Apostle found, after his interview with the Jewish leaders, that any hope of reconciliation between them and the Gentiles was out of the question. This led to the separation of Christianity from Judaism, which becomes prominent during this period.

This separation must have attracted the attention of the Roman Government to the former religion, and thus from this time forward neither the policy of the Government nor the character of the Emperor was altogether a matter of indifference to the welfare of the Faith.

We have seen that in 58 A.D. the majority of the Gentile Christians had entered the Church through the door of the Synagogue, but this is the case no longer. The Apostle and others now address their preaching directly to the heathen, and the result is seen in two influential quarters in Rome—the Praetorian Guard[1] and Cœsar's household.[2] The knowledge which the Apostle would gain in Rome would prove to him the value to the Church of gaining a foothold in these two places. The Praetorians, who were continually coming and going between the capital and the frontiers, would carry with them the knowledge of the Faith, and, gradually, scattered congregations of Christians might be formed all over the Empire. The members of Cæsar's household could bring their influence to bear upon the Government in favour of the Faith, for practically the whole of the civil service of the Empire was undertaken by its members. If these two services—the Army and the Civil Service—could be gained for the Christian Church, then the Apostle's grand ideal of a Catholic Christian Church for the Empire might enter the realm of practical politics.

From his own experience up to this time—61 A.D.—St.

[1] Phil. i. 13. [2] Phil. iv. 22.

Paul might have hoped that the Roman Government could be won over to the side of the Church, at least as far as granting to it the privileges of a *Religio licita*. In reply to the question what was it that prevented this ideal from becoming an actual fact, the answer must be, the action of the State.

A society such as the Christian Church could hardly have passed unnoticed for long by a Government so highly organised and efficient as that of Rome. As long as Christianity was considered to be merely a Jewish sect it would be protected by the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Jews; but as soon as its separate existence and organisation became apparent these privileges would cease to be a protection. This would take place about the time of St. Paul's visit to Rome, or shortly afterwards, when the Christian Church in Rome became definitely Gentile and the appeal of the Gospel was made directly to the heathen. Such a state of affairs would make it all the more urgent to gain the goodwill of the State on behalf of the Church, if it were possible.

During the latter part of St. Paul's visit the Church in Rome was going through a great crisis, the ultimate end of which was unknown. The State was not yet definitely hostile, but at any moment might become so. The Christians, therefore, had to walk circumspectly, avoiding, as far as possible, giving any offence by their words or actions to the authorities and to their neighbours. But as the months passed they must have realised that the crisis could only end in one way. They must have felt that their continued absence at religious Festivals and the Games was making them remarkable and their Faith intensely unpopular with the masses, and that the State must soon step in and attempt to exterminate such a hated society. How and when the attempt would be made they knew not, the only thing they could do was to prepare for it.

In July of the year 64 A.D. the famous fire took place in Rome which utterly destroyed three, and left only a few scarred and half-ruined houses in seven out of the fourteen divisions into which the city was divided, with the result that between four and five hundred thousand people were rendered homeless.

The effect of this appalling disaster was to arouse to the utmost pitch the angry feelings of the mob. The Emperor Nero, who was at Antium at the time, returned with the utmost speed to Rome and exerted himself to pacify the people by every means in his power. He opened the Campus Martius, the public buildings of Agrippa, and even in his own gardens he caused temporary buildings to be erected for the homeless. He brought large supplies of corn to Rome and lowered the price to feed the hungry. But it was known that Nero had long wished for the destruction of the ancient city so that he might build a new one and call it by his own name, and in spite of all his efforts to appease the masses, rumours continued to spread through the city that the fire had been begun by the orders of the Emperor himself. "But neither man's efforts to give relief," to use the words of Tacitus, "nor the largess of the Emperor, nor the propitiation of the gods were able to dissipate belief in the sinister report that the fire had been ordered. Wherefore, to efface the rumour Nero contrived that accusations should be brought against a sect of people hated for their abominations, whom the populace called Christians, and subjected them to the most exquisite tortures."[1]

It has usually been held that the measures started by Nero against the Christians, and the persecution to which they led, took place immediately after the fire, about August 64 A.D. But the above quotation from Tacitus,

[1] Tacitus Ann. XV. 44.

as has been shown by Mr. G. Edmundson,[1] seems to indicate that this view is not quite correct. Tacitus definitely says that it was only after other measures had been taken —relief, largess, and propitiation of the gods—to expel the sinister rumours that Nero endeavoured to shift the odium of having caused the fire from himself to the Christians. From this we may conclude that the persecution did not begin until some months had elapsed after the fire. The final scene of that awful time took place in Cæsar's gardens in the evening, at which the Emperor attended as a charioteer, and it would only be in the warm weather, lest his voice should suffer from the cold, that Nero would appear in the open air at night clad in such a light garb. This event must be dated at the very earliest in the late spring or early summer of 65 A.D., nearly a year after the fire.

We may conclude, therefore, that it would not be until the beginning of the year 65 A.D., about the end of January or beginning of February, that Nero would conceive the plan of using the popular hatred of the Christians as an excuse for accusing them of arson and so effacing the rumours which had arisen against himself. The plan, as soon as conceived, would be put into immediate execution. The orders for the arrest of the Christians would be at once issued and they would not be difficult to execute, for, as we have seen, the existence of the Christian society must have been well known to the Government by this time. The result of these arrests is described by Tacitus: "Those therefore that confessed were first brought to trial, afterwards from information derived from them an immense multitude were joined with them, not so much for the crime of incendiarism as for hatred of the human race."[2]

These words imply two stages in the proceedings against

[1] Edmundson, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 125. [2] Tacitus, *op. cit.*

the Christians: the first the trial of those for whom the warrants of arrest were originally issued, amongst whom would be those who by their actions would bring suspicion upon themselves, including perhaps some soldiers of the Praetorian Guard and members of the Imperial household. The words "who confessed" can only mean that they at once admitted that they were Christians, for it was after their confession that they were brought to trial. The account of Tacitus seems to indicate that in the first stage the Christians were charged with incendiarism and in some way or other were found guilty of the crime. But it could hardly be the crime of setting fire to Rome the year before, for in that case Nero's name would have been definitely cleared, and this was certainly not the case. This charge and condemnation may possibly be connected with the current belief of the Christians in the destruction of the world by fire in the near future, when the end of all things would come and Christ would appear once more. Such opinions, widely circulated and caught up and misunderstood by the non-Christian populace of the city, would give a certain amount of *prima facie* evidence to the charge of incendiarism brought against them. The official enquiries would soon prove that such ideas could have nothing to do with the recent fire, yet they would certainly stamp the Christian society as an organisation highly dangerous to the State.

It seems possible that the original intention of Tigellinus, the Praetorian Praetor, whom Nero would naturally put in charge of these proceedings, was to sacrifice a few of the leading Christians for the purpose of appeasing the feelings of the mob and allaying the sinister rumours against the Emperor, as it was only after the revelations made at the first trial that the wholesale slaughter was begun. In the second stage of the persecution the charge of incen-

diarism appears to have been dropped and an immense multitude of Christians were put to death for what Tacitus calls "hatred of the human race."

These words cannot refer to any single crime of which the Christians were accused, but may be taken to include a number of definite acts connected with the interference of Christianity with family life, such as the relationship between husband and wife, or parents and children.[1] Many things were permitted by Paganism which Christianity forbade, and the Christian would be beset by many social difficulties in his business and his home. From this it is easy to understand how popular feeling would be aroused against them and Christianity would be branded as anti-social. In this interference with social life, summed up by Tacitus as "hatred of the human race," Professor Ramsay[2] finds an explanation of the strange word ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος used by St. Peter in his First Epistle.

The question now arises: how soon after this was Christianity officially proscribed as a forbidden religion, and the mere confession of the Name incurred the extreme penalty? That this was not the case in the proceedings described by Tacitus is obvious from his words, for in the first stage the Christians are condemned on the charge of incendiarism, in the second on a variety of charges connected with the name which are summed up by the historian as "hatred of the human race."

Three answers have been given to the question before us:—

(i.) That of the older historians, who date the proscription of Christianity in 112 A.D., in Trajan's reign, drawing their conclusions from a study of his correspondence with Pliny. This date has now been abandoned by historians.

[1] Sanday, EXPOSITOR, June, 1893, pp. 409–10.
[2] Ramsay *op. cit.*, p. 293. 1 Peter iv. 15.

(ii.) Professor Ramsay, in his work *The Church in the Roman Empire*, suggests Vespasian as the Emperor who initiated the policy in the later years of his reign, circ. 74 A.D.

(iii.) Dr. Sanday, replying to Ramsay in the EXPOSITOR for June 1893, would place the new policy in Nero's reign during the persecution which he dates in 64 A.D.

The fixing of this date has somewhat more than a mere historical interest attached to it, for on it depends the date, and with the date the authenticity, of the Pastoral Epistle and 1. Peter. For it is obvious that any document which describes the Christians as suffering for the Name must be later than the date of the proscription of Christianity, and on the other hand a document which describes them as suffering only for charges connected with the name must be earlier than that date.

When we turn to these New Testament writings we are thrown on the horns of a dilemma between the two professors. For if we accept Professor Ramsay's date of 74 A.D., then 1 Peter must be later than that date, for it distinctly mentions the fact that the Christians are liable to suffer for the Name. Indeed Professor Ramsay himself admits this, and gives us the choice of either rejecting the Petrine authorship of the Epistle or rejecting the well-founded tradition of St. Peter's death about the time of the Neronian Persecution.[1]

On the other hand, if we accept the earlier date of Professor Sanday, 64 A.D., the traditional date and authorship of 1 Peter are unaffected, but we are compelled to reject the Pastoral Epistles, for they describe the Christians as suffering for crimes and are certainly later than the Neronian Persecution.

[1] Ramsay, *Church in Roman Empire*, p. 293.

But I think it can be shown with a certain degree of probability that Professor Sanday's date is too early, while that of Professor Ramsay is too late. First, both writers date the commencement of the Neronian Persecution in 64, immediately after the fire, and we have seen that the words of Tacitus imply that this is at least six months too early. The first steps were taken against the Christians in the beginning of 65. We have seen that the result of the first examination of the Christians revealed to the Roman Government the great extent and ramification of this "dangerous society." But the words of Tacitus: "Afterwards by information derived from them a vast multitude were joined with them," seem to imply something more than mere verbal information obtained by cross-examination. We cannot doubt that the houses of Christians would be searched and Christian documents would be discovered. Such evidence would reveal to the Government the fact that Christianity not only existed in Rome, but that there were many flourishing branches of the society scattered all over the chief cities of the Eastern Provinces.

The Roman Government could hardly fail to take cognisance of such a fact as this, and it is only natural to conclude that the Governors of the various provinces would be ordered to find out how far the society had spread in their districts, and summaries of Christian documents would be forwarded to them for their guidance. Then when all the Governors had sent back their replies, and the full extent of Christianity was made known to the central Government, the final step would be taken and the Christian name would be proscribed.

All this would take a certain amount of time; the documentary evidence would have to be collected, read, sorted and summarised, before the messengers could be sent to

the Provinces. But just at this time the Government had their hands full dealing with the Pisonian conspiracy at Rome,[1] and it would probably be only after that had been dealt with that they would have time to give to the Christians. The earliest date that the messengers could leave Rome would be about June or July 65, and some might only be able to get away shortly before the travelling season ended. The enquiries conducted in the Provinces would occupy the winter of 65–66, and it would only be in the spring of 60 that the replies would come back, and in some cases it might be later. If such were the course of action taken by the Roman Government as a result of the revelations made during the Neronian persecution, then the date of the Proscription of the Name must be dated about the autumn of 66 A.D.

This date seems to suit the circumstances exactly. The Pastoral Epistles must be dated, if authentic, between 65–67. The final Epistle, 2 Timothy, was written in the summer—why not the summer of 66 ? The Name had not yet been proscribed and there seems to have been a lull in the persecution. This would only be natural if all the facts upon which the Government were going to act had not yet reached the metropolis.

The date suits 1 Peter equally well. All tradition agrees that St. Peter suffered martyrdom in Rome in Nero's reign. If St. Peter penned his Epistle in Rome immediately the Name was proscribed, knowing well that this proscription would mean an outbreak of persecution in the Provinces, he would give his readers exactly the advice which is given in the Epistle : " Let none of you suffer as a murderer or as a thief or as an evil doer or as a meddler in other men's matters (ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος), but if as a Christian, be ye not ashamed but glorify God in this Name."[2]

[1] Edmundson, *op. cit.* pp. 126–7. [2] 1 Peter iv. 15.

This is the advice of a man who is not quite certain whether his readers are liable to suffer for the Name or for charges connected with the name. The rescript proscribing the Name, and the Epistle, most probably reached the Provinces of Asia Minor almost at the same time—that is, late in 66 or early in 67.

Thus, to sum up, the following stages in the course of events in the Neronian Persecution have been marked.

A.D. 64. July. The outbreak of fire in Rome.

65. Jan.–Feb. First prosecution of Christians for incendiarism.

65. March. General prosecution of Christians for "hatred of the human race."

65. Mar.–May. Persecution of Christians.

65. April.–June. Collecting, reading, sorting and summarising documentary evidence obtained during prosecution of Christians.

65. June.–August. Departure of messengers from Rome to Provinces.

65–66 Winter. Examination of extent of Christianity in their districts by Governors of Provinces.

66. April.–June. Return of messengers from Provinces.

66. August. Proscription of the Name.

N.B. The months are only suggested as rough estimates as to the time the various stages might last.

J. H. HINGSTON.

THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

THE Samaritan people, their history, religion, and sacred literature, offer a field for study that hitherto has been but indifferently explored. When the facts are considered this

is surprising. Materials for the ancient history of Israel are none too plentiful. The absence of any account of the Northern Kingdom written from the Samaritan point of view is greatly to be deplored. Historians have sought to bridge many a gap by brilliant conjectures, and the growth of Israel's sacred books is explained according to a theory in which ingenious hypothesis and speculation have a heavy burden to bear. Meantime a promising source of authentic information seems to have been largely neglected.

Here we have a people occupying adjoining territory, identical in race with the Jewish people, heirs of the same history and tradition, the same religion and ritual; a people of remarkable independence of spirit who, in spite of oppression and persecution, with limpet-like tenacity, clung to their faith and religious practices through many centuries. A line of study is here suggested which may be expected to yield results shedding important light upon the life and institutions of the Southern Kingdom. To this task Dr. J. E. H. Thomson addresses himself in his book, *The Samaritans: Their Testimony to the Religion of Israel* (Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh), which comprises the "Robertson Lectures," delivered before the University of Glasgow. It is the outcome of over thirty years' study and reflection. Dr. Thomson takes account of all that previous scholars have written. He spent some years in Palestine, and had the advantage of conference with the Samaritan officials at Nablus. He also witnessed the celebration of the Passover on Mount Gerizim.

There are many things of interest in the book: but the main purpose of this article is to draw attention to certain results reached which are in conflict with those of the prevailing Higher Critical School, and to indicate opinions now largely received as true which may require to be reconsidered.

I.

At the disruption of the kingdom the northern tribes threw off allegiance to the House of David, but they did not renounce their ancestral faith. Whatever significance attached to the golden calves set up at Bethel and at Dan, the people continued to worship Jehovah. In the persecution that marked the reign of Ahab the sword of Jezebel found ample employment inslaughtering the prophets of Jehovah. A hundred of these faithful men were concealed and fed by Obadiah alone (1 Kings xviii. 13); and there were no fewer than seven thousand who had not even pretended by outward signs to honour Ba'al (1 Kings xix. 18). The prophetic influence was stronger in the north, the priestly in the south; but in both the High Places survived repeated attempts to destroy them. The associations of ancient Canaanitish worship lingered around them, and the Israelites found it all too easy to slip down into these alluring idolatries of Ba'al. The utter destruction of the High Places would have meant deliverance from a standing temptation. But the normal worship there was that of Jehovah. This accounts for their speedy revival after each temporary suppression. That the High Places were not taken away is regarded as only a slight qualification of the eulogy, "He did right in the sight of the Lord," pronounced on the kings of the House of David, e.g. "The High Places were not removed, nevertheless Asa's heart was perfect with the Lord all his days" (1 Kings xv. 14). Of the worship of Ba'al by Ahab and Manasseh very different language is used (1 Kings xvi. 31; 2 Kings xxi. 3). Hosea assumes that the worship at Bethel, although wrong, was offered to Jehovah (iv. 15). The language of Amos implies that the northern Israelites knew the Priestly Code, and professed to follow it (iv. 4 f.).

The sacrifice of Elijah on Mount Carmel is very instructive.

The " Altar of Jehovah " which had been broken down, he rebuilt. He himself acted as sacrificing priest. The regulations for the High Places may not have been as strict as those for the central shrine. The victim was burned as a whole burnt sacrifice, and this at the hour of the evening sacrifice—*minḥah*. The note of time indicates that this was a regular occurrence (1 Kings xviii. 36 ; cf. Ezra. ix. 4). From the High Places, it may not unreasonably be inferred, night and morning rose the smoke of offering, as from the central hearth in Jerusalem.

This is corroborated by Amos who, in his rebuke and remonstrance, says that the Israelites " bring sacrifices every morning," as in Jerusalem morning by morning a lamb was sacrificed (iv. 4). The terms used by the prophet in this chapter, and in chapter v. 21, 22, show that he takes for granted that the northern tribes had the same religious ideas as those in the south, and expressed them in the same technical language.

Incense was burned in the north (1 Kings xiii. 1) as in the south. The priests of the High Places corresponded to those in Jerusalem ; and as consecrated persons the order of Nazirites was common to north and south (Amos ii. 11, 12 ; Lam. iv. 7 ; cf. Judges xiii. 14 ; xvi. 17).

North and south thus appear to have retained the worship of Jehovah and the great body of the ordinances of worship in common ; the most striking differences being the absence in the north of a central shrine, and the presence of the golden calves. It is not easy to see how reverence paid to these could be reconciled with obedience to the second commandment : but perhaps the practice of the Roman Catholics may furnish a suggestion. The images in church appear to be in flagrant breach of the commandment blazoned on the wall. The Romanist satisfies his conscience by making a distinction in kind between the worship directed to these

and that which he offers to God. These represent humbler beings to whom a lower order of worship is due. However this may be it seems that the Ephraimite tribes must have possessed the complete law, at latest, at the time when Amos addressed them.

II.

It is often assumed that when Samaria fell the whole population of the country was deported and replaced by colonists from Mesopotamia. This is to give too exact and literal meaning to a phrase that is obviously general. It is said that the king of Assyria "carried Israel away into Assyria"; that the Lord "removed them out of his sight" leaving none but "the tribe of Judah only." The historian takes a glance forward, and, two verses later, he includes Judah in the doom—"he . . . cast him out of his sight" (2 Kings xvii. 6; xviii. 20). This last phrase evidently refers to the withdrawal of spiritual privileges. As to deportation, the method followed in Judah by Nebuchadnezzar was likely to resemble that of Sargon. Nebuchadnezzar carried away the leaders and men of influence, leaving the "poor of the land" to be vinedressers and husbandmen (2 Kings xxiv. 14; xxv. 12). Thus was Judah carried into captivity. In like manner, probably, acted Sargon. This view is confirmed by Sargon's own account of his enterprise, inscribed upon his palace walls. He was not likely to minimise the glory of his exploits; yet he claims to have carried captive from Samaria only 27,280 souls. At the lowest estimate the population of the province was certainly many times that number. He goes on to say that he changed the government of the country, setting over it a lieutenant of his own, and imposed on it the tribute paid by the former king—all pointing to a population which required guidance and was able to pay tribute.[1] Clearly the remnant that

[1] An interesting suggestion is that the lieutenant, who is not named,

had escaped from the hand of the king of Assyria was very considerable. The Chronicler says that "all Israel and Judah" were present at the Passover kept by Josiah three quarters of a century later (2 Chron. xxxv. 17 ff.). In accord with this is the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* x. iv. 5) that Josiah "went also to all the Israelites who had escaped captivity and slavery under the Assyrians, and persuaded them to desist from their impious practices." Josephus had certainly no wish to strengthen Samaritan claims to Israelitish ancestry. His testimony is therefore of the greater value. The difficulties connected with the transport of a population of probably not less than two millions from Palestine to the lands beyond the Euphrates and the Tigris, in the days of Sargon, were such as themselves effectually to bar any enterprise of the kind. Policy would, however, dictate the removal of all whose loyalty might be suspected, and all notables who might promote rebellion. "Princes," "mighty men of valour," "craftsmen," and "smiths" would have to go. These last might be useful in producing weapons and munitions of war. Priests and prophets, also, who might give religious sanction to rebellion, would be carried away. The objects of the Assyrians would thus be sufficiently attained.

The place of the deported Israelites was taken by colonists sent from Assyria. These appear to have come in relays, sent by Sargon (Schrader, *Keilinsch.* i. 268), Esarhaddon and Asshur-bani-pal (Ezra iv. 7, 10). When every allowance is made these colonists could only have been a small percentage of the population. The process of assimilation to environment would be rapid in any case. It would be accelerated if the colonists came from different regions of the empire—

may have been none other than Hezekiah, king of Judah. If this were so it might explain the apparent confusion in the account of his regnal years, and also his tone in addressing the Israelites in the land from Dan to Beersheba.

as is probable—differing therefore from each other in traditions, language, customs and religion, as much as they all did from their Israelite neighbours. The latter were still worshippers of Jehovah, but without the guidance of their priestly instructors. When, following a practice common in the ancient world, the colonists wished to render homage to the God in whose land they had settled, authoritative teaching was secured by the return of a priest or priests from captivity. The exact ritual, the right attitudes and gestures of the worshipper, the correct titles by which to address the deity, the proper terms of dedication, couched, probably, in archaic language, were regarded as of the utmost importance—too important to be learned with confidence from an ignorant peasantry. They learned their lesson well. As representing the conquerors, their wealth, education, and habits of command would give them a position of influence similar to that of the Norman nobles in England in the days of King John. They appear as spokesmen of the people when, asking permission to join in the building of the temple, they claim to have been worshippers of Jehovah from the days of Esarhaddon. The superior sanctity of the shrine on Mount Zion is there acknowledged—see also the incident recorded in Jeremiah xli. 5. The Jews and Samaritans had reached a good understanding ; and the prevalence of intermarriage shows that questions of religion were no longer in dispute. It is to be observed that the refusal of help in building the temple was not based upon religious grounds. The natural resentment roused by this incident passed away, and before the arrival of Ezra and Nehemiah the friendly relations between north and south had been restored. These two leaders, however, regarded the Samaritans as aliens, and took action which severed Jew and Samaritan for ever.

The claim of Tobiah the Ammonite to be an Israelite,

with a right to worship at the central shrine, had been allowed by Eliashib the High Priest who had given him a chamber in the temple. A man whose name meant "JHWH is good" would not likely be in fact an Ammonite. "The Ammonite" may have been a nickname like "Il Moro" applied to Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, in the end of the fifteenth century, not because he was a Moor, but because of his dark complexion. This man, ignominiously driven out by Nehemiah, made common cause with the Samaritans, if, indeed, he were not one of them. Among the leading Jews who had contracted marriages declared illegal by Ezra was the grandson of Eliashib the Priest. He had married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite (i.e. native of Beth-horon), the Governor of Samaria. That Sanballat was an Israelite is probable, although holding office under the conquerors, he would naturally have an Assyrian name as well. Zerubbabel was also called Sheshbazar. Of the son-in-law, of Sanballat, Nehemiah says," I caused him from me."

No extant scripture justifies the interpretation of the marriage law on which Nehemiah acted. The zeal of Ezra and Nehemiah in this matter possibly reveals something of the narrow legalistic spirit which, later, hardened into Pharisaism. The result in any case was final separation and embitterment between two kindred peoples.

Josephus here drops a whole century of history, and falls into some confusion among the kings who bore the names of Darius and Artaxerxes. Authority to build a temple on Mount Gerizim, to which he refers, was probably given to the grandson of Eliashib by Darius Nothus. The worship of the Samaritans was closely identical with that of the Jews. This is confirmed by the fact that the Israelites of Upper Egypt (see Assouan Papyri) appeal alike to the High Priest in Jerusalem and to the "sons of Sanballat".

in Samaria as to co-religionists. The worship set up in the rival shrine would therefore be as exact a copy as possible of that in the Jerusalem temple. And so we may conclude that between the Jews and the Samaritans there was agreement as regards both sacred books and ritual practice, up to the date of the final rupture. After that event religious movements in Jerusalem would be suspect on Gerizim, and the last thing the men of the north would dream of doing would be to adopt developments approved by their hated rivals in the south.

III.

According to the traditional view the Samaritans have been in possession of the complete Pentateuch for more than 3,000 years. The prevailing Critical view is that they were concurring spectators of the changes effected under Ezra after the return of the Jews from Babylon; and the theory most in favour is that a copy of the newly completed Pentateuch was carried to Samaria by the renegade priest—the grandson of Eliashib.

The Critical position is that the book of Joshua is the result of the same literary activity as produced the Torah, containing the same component parts, arranged in similar strata of J, E, D and P. We have therefore six books —not five—forming a literary unity: a Hexateuch; not a Pentateuch. Here arises the first serious difficulty in the way of the Critical theory. Why did Manasseh—if that was the priest's name—carry to Samaria only five of the six authoritative books? This is the more extraordinary as Joshua was the great hero of the northern tribes: legends had gathered round him, and his tomb was with them. There was every reason why the Samaritans should desire its possession, and none why Manasseh should reject it. If, as the Jewish teachers have always held, Joshua was quite separate from the Torah, this difficulty would be

eased; but this would destroy the Critical position.

According to the Critical hypothesis the evolution of the Pentateuch was on this wise. About the time of Jehoshaphat a Judean began to collect the legends regarding the origin of the Israelite race. About a century later an Ephraimite took up a similar task. The former spoke of God by His covenant name JHWH: the latter preferred the more general term Elohim. The Judean document is called J: the Ephraimite E. During Josiah's reign a redactor combined the two narratives. About the same time, while repairs involving the masonry were being made on the temple, "the book of the Law" was found, or alleged to be found, and was taken by Hilkiah the High Priest to Josiah. The critics maintain that it was composed by certain members of the prophetic school with a view to the abolition of the High Places, from which so many evils resulted. To gain the authority of the great legislator for this radical reform the writing was attributed to Moses. It was then hidden, probably with the connivance of Hilkiah, and, when discovered according to arrangement, it produced the desired effect. This document is the book of Deuteronomy, and is known as D. A later redactor combined it with the already united J and E, expanding the JE narratives and adjusting them to Deuteronomy. Men of the same spirit followed the Deuteronomist, who operated on the other books of scripture, and are denoted as D2 and D3.

During the captivity of Judah Ezekiel and those influenced by him devised the Law of Holiness (H) which contains, with variations, the Deuteronomic list of clean and unclean animals, and matters concerning marriage relationships. The captive priests added later an elaborate system of washings and sacrifices, thus constituting the Priestly Code (P). Meantime the document combining JE and D arrived in Babylon from Jerusalem. Later Jehovists had been at

work upon it either in Jerusalem or after it reached Babylon : probably also later Elohists. Thus we have J2, J3, E2 and E3, besides a relay of D's. All the material thus gathered was wrought into the complete Torah, and brought to Palestine by Ezra.

At whatever date the Samaritans received the Pentateuch it was already complete in all its complexity of parts. The difference between the Samaritan and Hebrew recensions are slight, and hardly involve any critical points. If the Critical theory is correct, clearly the Samaritans could not have possessed the Torah before the days of Ezra.

The Critical hypothesis assumes that the book " found " in the temple was Deuteronomy, and that then, as a pious fraud, it first saw the light. This assumption rests upon the statement that Deuteronomic legislation limits legitimate sacrifices to Jerusalem ; that Josiah alone gave effect to this legislation, and that only after he had read the book. The statement is inaccurate. Under certain conditions sacrifices might be offered elsewhere (Deut. xii. 21). Regulations affecting worship at local shrines are given in chapters xvi. 21, 22 ; xvii. 1). What the law regulates it allows. Again, if the book were written to give Mosaic sanction to the concentration of worship in Jerusalem, it is at least striking that Zion is not once named, nor even referred to. In these circumstances it was hardly like a Jerusalem Jew to give such prominence to the Samaritan mountains Ebal and Gerizim (chaps. xi. 29 ; xxvii. 4). Everything indicates that the book must have been written before the place for the central shrine was fixed (chaps. xii. 5 ; xv. 20 ; xviii. 6, etc.). Further, Hezekiah had instituted the same reforms two generations before Josiah was born. The memory of this could not in that time have entirely perished.

By hypothesis no one in Jerusalem or in Samaria knew anything of any law book of Mosaic authorship, for the good

reason that no such book existed. If that were so, how comes it that the " discoverer " of this new document says " I have found *the* book of the law " ? If no Mosaic law book was known to be extant, it would have been natural to say " I have found a book of precepts by Moses." But this defining and individualising of the roll proves that it was a document the existence of which was known.

We have seen reason to believe that the Torah, and therefore Deuteronomy, was in the hands of Israel not later than the time of Amos. In harmony with this we find in Deuteronomy references to events recorded in Exodus and Numbers, involving the documents distinguished as J and E. From P also there is an extract (x. 6, 7) taken from Numbers xxxiii. 1–49. Deuteronomy xxiv. 8, 9, is a plain reference to the Levitical law concerning leprosy (Lev. xii., xiv.), which is assumed to be extant and known. Deuteronomy requires the observance of the Feast of Tabernacles (xvi. 13–15) without a single word of direction. Full instructions were already given in Leviticus xxiii. 33–44. All this goes to show that the Priestly Code was earlier than Deuteronomy, and could not have been added 150 years later. David and Solomon, in building the permanent national shrine at Jerusalem, gave effect to the Deuteronomic spirit ; and the ritual followed in the dedication of the temple was strictly in accord with the Priestly Code.

It is noteworthy that personal names including the element " Ba'al," which formerly were freely given, disappear with the advent of David. Israel thenceforward obeyed the precept of Exodus xxiii. 13 : " Make no mention of the name of their gods," etc. If this had been due to scribal redaction " Jerubbaal " would not have been used so freely in the book of Judges. With David begin references to the Law : e.g. in 1 Kings ii. 3. These cannot be got

rid of by simply describing them as Deuteronomic interpolations. The evidence negatives the idea that the book "found" in the temple was only Deuteronomy.

The roll called by Hilkiah "*the* book of the law" must have been a copy of the law to which some special importance or sanctity attached. A suggestion of Dr. Edouard Naville is worthy of consideration. Solomon stood in intimate relations with the Egyptians, whose custom it was to put parts of their sacred book, the Book of the Dead, in the foundations of their temples. Solomon, adopting their custom, may have placed a copy of the Law in the foundation of the temple in Jerusalem. The block containing it may have been of the more friable order of limestone, and, showing signs of decay, in the course of the repairs ordered by Josiah it would be replaced by another. This would bring the roll to light. The script would by this time have become archaic. It was given to a professional scribe, Shaphan, to decipher. If this was the history of the document it is easy to understand the effect which its discovery and study would have upon the mind of the king and of the community. But further, this would prove that already in the days of Solomon the Torah was sacrosanct; a conclusion, as we have seen, not improbable on other grounds.

If, passing over many debatable points, we assume the truth of the Critical theory, then much that was new, in particular the Priestly Code, made its first appearance in Jerusalem with Ezra. We are at once in the presence of formidable difficulties. The Jews were always notoriously touchy when changes affecting even small points of ritual were proposed. For about a century they had been sacrificing on Zerubbabel's altar, and for nearly three quarters of a century had maintained a regular ritual of sacrificial worship in the rebuilt temple. Is it likely that they would easily accept and submit to a new Torah which revolution-

ised their religious practices? It is difficult to believe this, even if Ezra were backed up by the Great King, and supported by the Tirshatha. There is no evidence that he met with grave trouble save with the men who had, according to his interpretation of the law, married forbidden wives. If he simply recalled the people to obedience to a law which they recognised as authoritative, but which had fallen into desuetude, his success, perhaps even then hardly won, can be understood.

Had Ezra achieved all that the Critics imagine his name must have been pre-eminent in the memory of the Jewish people. So far is that from being the case that in Ben Sira's "Hymn of the Fathers," in which Zerubbabel, Joshua the High Priest, and Nehemiah are commemorated, Ezra is passed over without mention.

But, granting that the priests in Jerusalem submitted to Ezra, abandoned a ritual hallowed for them by the experience of more than two generations, and at his bidding adopted the new practices he brought, can any man believe that the renegade priest would carry off and inculcate in Samaria the new law under which himself had just suffered such gross indignity and humiliation? Would a Puritan who had borne fine and imprisonment at the orders of Archbishop Laud, having escaped to New England, promptly set about a propaganda to establish there a High Church Episcopacy, with all the Laudian ritual?

Supposing, however, that Manasseh, if that was his name, were willing to play this strange part, what would the Samaritan people think of it? Would they be likely to surrender a system of sacrificial ritual which they had been taught by accredited priests, which was entwined with all their religious experiences "from the days of Esarhaddon," and adopt a new one from Jerusalem, on the invitation of a priest who was himself a fugitive from the enforcement of its provisions?

If, on the other hand, Ezra merely brought a copy of the Law which the Jews recognised as sacred, but had failed strictly to observe, not only was the submission of the Jerusalem priests intelligible: the situation in the north also becomes clearer. We have seen that the worship on the Samaritan High Places agreed essentially with that on Mount Zion. The adoption of that ritual when national worship was concentrated on Gerizim would be perfectly natural. The fact that the Samaritans introduced the Levitical regulations without protest or demur in their temple worship implies that the Priestly Code was known to them long before the coming of Ezra.

IV.

By another line of study to be indicated presently, the conclusion is reached that the Torah was in existence in its completed form in the days of David and Solomon; and that the divergence of the Samaritan and Massoretic recensions must have taken place while both were written in the old angular script, corresponding to that of the Ba'al Lebanon inscription. One copy became the parent of all such as were in the hands of the northern tribes. At the fall of Samaria all the sacred books, with the priests and leading men, would be carried away. The poor and the ignorant only remaining, they could not have used the books if they had had them. They were thus left to the guidance of memory and tradition. When a priest was sent to teach the colonists the manner of the god of the land, it is reasonable to think that he was allowed to take with him a copy of the Law. The whole idea of worship among the Assyrians was ritual. The libraries of Esarhaddon and his son Asshur-bani-pal show that they were diligent collectors of religious formulae and ritual directions. The Pentateuch alone would be sent as being amply sufficient for religious purposes. From

the Assyrian point of view such books as Joshua and Judges, and those recording the imperial glories of the times of David and Solomon, could be only mischievous in their influence, tending to stir up national feeling and foster a spirit of revolt. When we remember the antagonism of the priests in northern Israel to the prophetic order, we can see why those sent to teach the colonists should say nothing of the existence of other sacred books. Here we have a reasonable suggestion as to how the Samaritans may have received the Pentateuch—the five books of the Law, and no more. The development and embitterment of the quarrel between them and the Jews rendered impossible any subsequent interchange of documents or borrowing of customs.

V.

The Massoretic and Samaritan recensions are carefully scrutinised, and their points of disagreement closely examined. This is prepared for by a study of the Evolution of the Samaritan Script, and the Language and Literature of the Samaritans. The importance for this purpose of having the Samaritan alphabet correctly copied from their manuscripts is obvious. Dr. Thomson complains that in printed works the forms of the letters are often inaccurately given—e.g. in Walton's Polyglot. By far the worst offenders in this respect are the Germans, from Gesenius to Petermann. The variants are classified as due (1) to accident, and (2) to intention. The first class are subdivided as arising from (*a*) mistakes of hearing, (*b*) mistakes of sight, and (*c*) mistakes from defective attention. Intentional variants may be (*a*) grammatical corrections, (*b*) logical corrections, or (*c*) theological corrections. None of these sources of variants can be neglected; and Dr. Thomson explores them with characteristic thoroughness. Here we glance briefly only at that which yields data most helpful in determining dates —Class I. (*b*)—in which are the variations due to mistaking

one letter for another which resembles it in appearance.

The oldest form of Hebrew writing, the angular script, found now only in inscriptions, passed, from the Moabite Stone to the sarcophagus of Ashmunazar—a period of about 500 years—through a process of evolution the stages of which may be traced. After it came the Samaritan script, the earliest examples of which are on the coins of Simon the Maccabee (about B.C. 140). To this succeeded (about A.D. 200) the familiar square Hebrew characters.

A stream is prone to hold in solution and carry with it something of all the different soils it passes through. Even so, a manuscript of the Old Testament in the most recent script may have in it traces of each successive transcription, and of each successive script. Mistakes due to confusion of letters resembling each other in an ancient script may stand alongside blunders due to similarity of character in a later script. The individual manuscript is dated by the latest script found in it : but the age of the contents of the document is fixed by the earliest.

The versions of the Old Testament made at different times —especially the Septuagint—also assist in arriving at an idea of date. Thus *daleth*, ד, and *resh*, ר, might easily be confused in the square character. They also resemble each other in the angular. It would not be so easy to mistake them in the Samaritan. If in a variant due to the confusion of ד and ר the Samaritan were supported by the Septuagint, this would indicate that the mistake was made before the square character came into existence, and the source of error would be sought most likely in the ancient angular script : thus pointing to the probable age of the document. On the other hand, a confusion of *he*, ה , and *heth*, ח, could only arise in the square character, these letters being quite unlike each other in the older scripts. *Yodh* and *tzade*, again, resemble each other in Samaritan, but not at all in the other scripts ; while in the earlier form of angular script

alone *mem* and *nun* are closely alike. A case arising from the confusion of these last illustrates this line of investigation. Jacob's youngest son is, in the Samaritan, invariably called Benjamim, and in the Massoretic as regularly Benjamin. This variant could have originated only in the ancient angular script.

Inquiry into the chronology of Semitic scripts may to-day be pursued with good hope of satisfactory results, as there is now available a body of inscriptions extending over more than a millennium.

Subsidiary arguments are derived (1) from variants in the Samaritan Pentateuch arising from confusion of the gutturals. This was possible only in the north, where the gutturals were not pronounced. Scribes writing to dictation were thus liable to substitute *aleph* for *'ayn*, *he* for *heth*, and so on. This peculiar disability was shared by the northern Israelites with the Phœnicians. Could it possibly have arisen through a vogue or fashion introduced when Phœnician influence was strong, in the days of Ahab ? (2) from the difference between the Samaritan Aramaic and that of the Jews as seen in the Targum of Onkelos—the northern being much more Hebraic in character.

Dr. Thomson reaches the conclusion, which "may be regarded as certain," that the mother roll from which ultimately both Massoretic and Samaritan are derived was written in the angular script: that the two recensions diverged at a time when the writing in common use was akin to that on the Moabite Stone and the Siloam inscription. As this script has been found on the jar handles in the foundation of Ahab's palace, the divergence may be dated as far back as the dynasty of Omri. This conclusion is supported by a study of other classes of variants ; while an exhaustive examination of the relation of the Samaritan recension to the Septuagint makes it clear that the two are independent witnesses, alike testifying to the integrity

of the Law from a period long before the advent of Ezra in Jerusalem.

VI.

Enough has been written to show that a formidable attack has been made upon positions that are held vital by the prevailing school of Higher Criticism. If it cannot be met and answered the consequences must be disastrous for the elaborate critical structure.

Serious students will not be repelled by the fact that the book is not easy reading. It will repay thorough and minute study. There is a certain amount of repetition to which objection may be taken. It will be seen, however, that this is introduced to give completeness to the discussion of different aspects of the subject: and it secures at least the advantage of laying special emphasis upon things which it is essential to grasp clearly.

Of great and permanent value is the careful account of all known MSS. of the Samaritan Pentateuch given in Appendix I. W. EWING.

SUFFICIENT UNTO THE DAY.

THE great paragraph on trust in the Sermon on the Mount ends in dismal anticlimax: "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." So at least say the versions and the commentaries. The thing is doubly strange. It is a sudden letting down of Jesus' buoyant optimism, and it sadly disappoints the movement of the whole paragraph which should have found its climax here. Every one who has tried in public to read these verses appreciatively must have experienced the sudden jar of this cynical, worldly-wise epigram. "Never fear," it seems to say, "you will have trouble in plenty all your days."

Of recent commentators, Archdeacon Allen quotes by way of illustration a dismal sentence from a Jewish tract: "Perhaps on the morrow thou wilt not exist and so wilt

have troubled about that which does not exist for thee." A comfortable doctrine truly, much nearer to fatalism than to Christian trust. Professor Plummer, on the other hand, conscious of the incongruity, is inclined to think the saying a contribution of the evangelist. It does not, he thinks, "rise much higher than strong common sense." But the question is, does it rise even as high as that? Is it true that every day has evil enough of its own?—unless one means that little or none is enough.

Perplexed by these difficulties, we turn to the Greek original and there find the familiar translation justified except for the verb "is." As the Authorised Version implies in italicising "is," the sentence is elliptical: "Enough for the day its evil." The copula must be supplied. But in what form, indicative or imperative?

Now these ten verses (Matt. vi. 25–34) present an animated series of crisp, bold sayings, mostly imperative or interrogative:

Be not anxious for your life.
Is it not more than food?
Look at the birds.
Are you not better than they?
Who can by anxiety increase his height?
Why be anxious about clothing?
Consider the lilies.
Will not God clothe you?
So be not anxious.
But seek first God's kingdom.
Be not therefore anxious for the morrow.
Sufficient unto the day its evil!

A few declarative sentences are scattered through the paragraph, but imperatives and interrogatives predominate and give it its remarkable animation. Jesus is not uttering platitudes. He is driving home His teaching with short, searching questions and crisp, unforgettable commands.

In such a context an imperative is much more likely than an indicative.

More striking still, the unusual word "sufficient," ἀρκετός, proves when all its recorded occurrences are examined, to have an especial affinity for the imperative. In the New Testament it occurs three times, always as a predicate adjective without a verb; but in all three cases, it seems to me, with an imperative to be supplied. In Matthew x. 25, "Let it suffice the pupil to be as his teacher." In 1 Peter. iv. 3, "For let the past suffice for doing the will of the heathen." And here in Matthew vi. 34, "Sufficient unto the day be its evil."

Outside the New Testament the word ἀρκετός has been found eleven times. With its attributive uses—Josephus, *War*, iii. 130; Hermas, *Sim.* i, 6; *Vis.* iii. 9, 3; Chrysippus in *Athenaeus* iii. 79, and Aquila, *Deut.* xxv. 2 (πρὸς ἀρκετόν)—we have no concern. Of the six recorded instances of the predicate use outside the New Testament I find but one in which it is unmistakably used with an affirmative indicative: καὶ ἦν ἀρκετὸν κατὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐᾶσαι (Vettius Valens, p. 304, 25); and one in which it is used with an interrogative indicative: τίς ἀρκετὸς εἰπεῖν; (1 Clem. 49. 3). Its use without a verb in an epigram (Anth. Pal. 9. 749) is doubtful; perhaps even here an imperative should be understood: "Why carve a Cupid on a wine-cup? Let it suffice that the heart burn with wine" (ἀρκετὸν οἴνῳ αἴθεσθαι καρδίην). But on the whole the indicative is more likely here.

In the three other instances the imperative is either expressed as in Berl. Griech. Urk. i. 33, 5: περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐργων σου ἀρκετὸς γενοῦ, or fairly implied, as in Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 8, 9, ἀρκετή σοι ἡ ὑπόμνησις αὕτη, which Gebhardt-Harnack translate "sufficiat tibi commonitio haec." The third instance, ἀρκετὰ τρι [quoted from Kaibel, *Epigram. Graec.*, Praef. 288 c. 10], by Moulton-Milligan (*Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament*), they explain with the words

" these three deaths suffice : the god is entreated to be satisfied." But here it seems at once more natural to render : " Let these three deaths suffice," supplying an imperative rather than an indicative.

If the imperative sense which I have claimed for Matt. x. 25, and 1 Peter iv. 3, be allowed, that sense is found in five of the nine recorded instances of the predicative use of ἀρκετός. The sixth is an interrogation. The seventh and probably the eighth are affirmations. The probability that the instance under discussion, which is the ninth, calls for an imperative rather than an indicative is therefore very considerable.

In short, the usage of ἀρκετός, the feeling of the context, and the sense of the saying itself unite to favour in Matthew vi. 34 the imperative sense. Nor is this understanding of the sentence wholly new. Little as commentators and translators have regarded it, it was pointed out long ago in Thayer's New Testament lexicon, where Professor Thayer, apparently following Grimm, recommends the translation, " Let the present day's trouble suffice for a man," etc. None of the more recent New Testament lexicographers (Preuschen, Ebeling, Zorell) have followed Thayer in this acute suggestion, nor have the interpreters, so far as I have observed, considered it worth notice.

Yet so understood the sentence becomes the climax of the paragraph : " Let no day's evil infect any other day ; confine it to its own single day." It reflects the high optimism of Jesus. It sustains the bold projectile quality of its great context. It becomes no mere cynical rabbinic commiseration, but a moral challenge, deep, searching, and incisive, worthy of Jesus Himself. And is it not worth while if we may at length, in all good philological conscience, delete the most cynical utterance in the New Testament, and in its place recover a new little Gospel from the mind of Jesus ?

E. J. GOODSPEED.

INDEX.

PAGE

Rev. W. F. Adeney, D.D.
The Nature of the Advent 371

Rev. W. Bartlett, M.A.
The Saints at Ephesus 327

Rev. T. Herbert Bindley, D.D.
Eschatology in the Lord's Prayer 315

Rev. Canon G. H. Box, D.D.
The Permanent Value of the Old Testament in the Light of Criticism 1

Professor Vacher Burch.
The Meaning and Function of the Church in Matthew xviii. 15 ff. 233

Rev. Canon Anthony C. Deane, M.A.
The Christian Doctrine of Reward 412

Rev. W. Ewing, D.D., M.C.
The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Higher Criticism . 451

Rev. Professor G. G. Findlay, D.D.
The World-Hope of Scripture. 241

Professor E. J. Goodspeed, Ph.D.
The Original Conclusion of Mark 155
Sufficient unto the Day. 469

Professor Frank Granger, Litt.D.
The Slave and the Workman in the Greek New Testament . 161
The Communist Production of the Greek New Testament . 379

Professor Rendel Harris, Litt.D., LL.D.
Jesus and the Exodus 64
The Religious Meaning of 1 Peter v. 5 131

Rev. J. H. Hingston, B.D.
The Early Roman Church to the Close of the Neronian Persecution 435

Rev. F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock.
Some New Testament Notes 306, 397

PAGE

Rev. Maurice Jones, D.D.
A New Chronology of the Life of St. Paul (*concluded*) . . 99

Rev. Professor W. M. Macgregor, D.D.
Professor A. B. Bruce 401

Rev. Professor Robert Mackintosh, D.D.
The Moral Necessity of Atonement 358
Christ's Thought of His Death 419

Rev. Professor D. S. Margoliouth, Litt.D.
The Matthæan Narrative of the Nativity . . . 273

Rev. G. Margoliouth, M.A.
The Fifth Chapter of the Book of Judges . . . 207

Rev. R. L. Marshall, M.A., LL.D.
The War and New Testament Criticism 189

Rev. Professor James Moffatt, D.D., Litt.D.
Tertullian on the Lord's Prayer 24
Cyprian on the Lord's Prayer 176
Augustine on the Lord's Prayer 259

Rev. Professor A. T. Robertson, D.D.
The Use of *ὑπέρ* in Business Documents in the Papyri. . 321

Rev. J. A. Robertson, M.A.
Jesus the Householder 345

Rev. Professor C. Anderson Scott, D.D.
The Communion of the Body 121

Rev. F. R. Tennant, D.D.
'Development' of Doctrine 140

Rev. T. H. Weir, M.A.
Jesus' Thought of His Death 72

Rev. Professor Adam C. Welch, D.D.
The Prophets and the World-Order 81

Rev. Canon G. H. Whitaker, M.A.
2 Timothy iii. 10 f. 342
Barnabas, Luke and Bithynia 429

Rev. E. W. Winstanley, D.D.
The Outlook of the Apostolic Fathers 283

Herbert G. Wood, M.A.
Logic and Pessimism 42

INDEX TO SUBJECTS.

	PAGE
Advent, The Nature of the	371
Apostolic Fathers, The Outlook of the	283
Atonement, The Moral Necessity of	358
Augustine on the Lord's Prayer	259
Barnabas, Luke and Bithynia	429
Bruce, Professor A. B.	401
Christian Doctrine of Reward, The	412
Christ's Thought of His Death	419
Church, The Meaning and Function of the, in Matt. xviii. 15 ff.	233
Communion of the Body, The	121
Communist Production of the Greek New Testament	379
Cyprian on the Lord's Prayer	176
Development of Doctrine	140
Early Roman Church to the Close of the Neronian Persecution, The	435
Ephesus, The Saints at	327
Eschatology in the Lord's Prayer	315
Fifth Chapter of the Book of Judges, The	1
Greek New Testament, The Communist Production of the	207
Greek New Testament, The Slave and the Workman in the	379
Higher Criticism, The Samaritan Pentateuch and the	161
Jesus and the Exodus	451
Jesus the Householder	64
Jesus' Thought of His Death	345
Judges, The Fifth Chapter of the Book of	72
Logic and Pessimism	207
Lord's Prayer, Augustine on the	42
Lord's Prayer, Cyprian on the	259
Lord's Prayer, Eschatology in the	176
Lord's Prayer, Tertullian on the	315
Matthæan Narrative of the Nativity, The	24
Meaning and Function of the "Church" in Matthew xviii. 15 ff.	273
Moral Necessity of Atonement, The	233
Nature of the Advent, The	358
New Chronology of the Life of St. Paul, A	371
New Testament Criticism, The War and	99
New Testament Notes	189
Original Conclusion of Mark, The	306, 397
Outlook of the Apostolic Fathers, The	155
Permanent Value of the Old Testament in the Light of Criticism, The	283
Pessimism, Logic and	1
1 Peter v. 5, The Religious Meaning of	42
Professor A. B. Bruce	131
Prophets and the World-Order, The	401
Reward, The Christian Doctrine of	81
St. Paul, A New Chronology of the Life of	412
Saints at Ephesus, The	99
Samaritan Pentateuch and the Higher Criticism, The	327
Slave and the Workman in the Greek New Testament, The	451
Sufficient unto the Day	161
Tertullian on the Lord's Prayer	469
2 Timothy iii. 10 f.	24
Use of ὑπέρ in Business Documents in the Papyri	342
War and New Testament Criticism, The	321
World-Hope of Scripture, The	189
World-Order, The Prophets and the	241
	81

INDEX TO TEXTS.

	PAGE
Gen. iii. 19	262
1 Kings xv. 14	453
2 Kings xvii. 6	455
xviii. 20	455
Ps. xxii. 28	315
ciii. 19	317
Isaiah i. 2	27
xiv. 12–15	16, 17
xxxviii. 10	308
Dan. xxi. 1	318
Hos. vi. 2	74
Joel ii. 32	272
Matt. vi. 25–34	470
vi. 32, 33, 34	36
vi. 34	471
vii. 7	40
viii. 11	317
viii. 29	77
ix. 1	346
x. 25	471
x. 35	346
xii. 35	308
xii. 36	350
xii. 49	350
xiii. 36	347
xv. 24	355
xvi. 19	307
xvi. 28	373
xviii. 6	354
xxiii. 9	27
xxiii. 26	311
xxiv. 8	318
xxiv. 24	319
xxv. 31	372
xxvi. 29	317
xxvi. 46	38
xxvi. 64	372
Matt. xxviii. 19	157
Mark ii. 1	346
iii. 19	347
iii. 21, 22	349
vi. 3	347
x. 45	420
xi. 1	373
xiii. 10	157
xiv. 28	156
Luke ii. 14	264
iv. 41	316
vi. 20	311
ix. 27	373
ix. 58	354
xi. 1	26
xi. 20	316
xi. 41	310
xiii. 32	74
xiv. 15	317
xvii. 20	316
xii. 19	35
xxii. 29	317
John i.12	27
ii.12	347
ii. 19	77
ii. 50	324
viii. 44	180
x. 30	29
xii. 32	77
xiii. 10	310
xv. 3	310
xv. 12	351
xv. 15	170, 175
Acts iv. 6	316
vi. 5	110
xi. 20	431
xiii. 24	312
Acts xiii. 25	311
xvi. 6, 7	433
xviii. 21	113
xx. 24	311
Rom. iii. 9.	397
x. 14	272
xv. 4, 5, 13	241
xv. 5, 6, 7	245
xvi. 22	395
1 Cor. iii. 17	263
iii. 23	311
x. 16.	121
2 Cor. v. 4	398
vi. 14	312
Gal. iii. 13	324
iv. 4	273
iv. 13	270
v. 1, 13	325
v. 7	397
Phil. iv. 3	312
1 Thess. i. 9	312
ii. 1	312
1 Tim. vi. 19	309
2 Tim. i. 12, 13	309
iv. 7	311
Titus i. 15	310
Heb. xii. 1	400
James i. 12	319
iii. 5	350
1 Pet. iv. 3	471
2 Pet. ii. 9	319
1 John ii. 18	319
Rev. i. 18	308
iii. 10	319
vi. 10	33

Printed in Great Britain by Butler & Tanner, Frome and London

BINDING SECT. AUG 3 1 1972

BS
410
E7
ser.8
v.18

The Expositor

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY